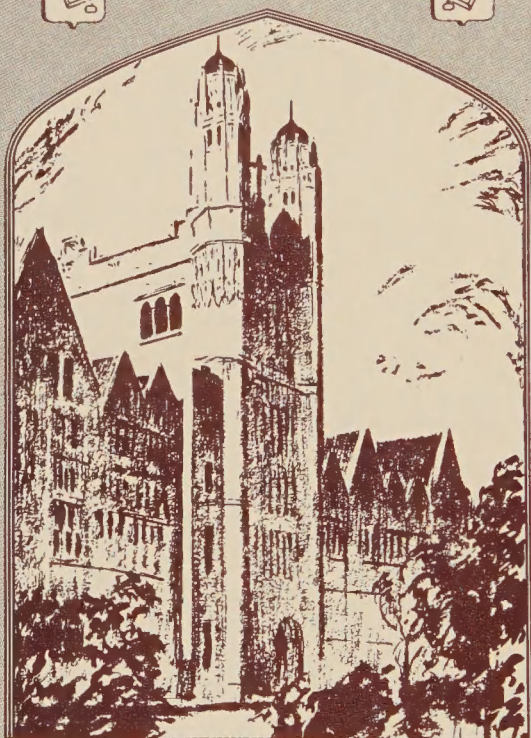



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THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY
NO. 346 CONVENT AVENUE, NEW YORK

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THOMAS F. MEEHAN

Editor Society's Publications

VOLUME XXVIII



NEW YORK
THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1937

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CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

AMERICAN PRELATES IN THE VATICAN COUNCIL

BY RAYMOND J. CLANCY, C.S.C.

FOREWORD

HUMAN society consists of two distinct orders, each with its own functions, laws, and sphere of action, the spiritual and the temporal. The representative of the spiritual order is the Church, of the temporal, the State. When, in 1846, Mastai-Ferretti succeeded to the papal throne as Pope Pius IX, he inherited a dual power: the spiritual, to be exercised over the whole of Christendom; the temporal, to be exercised over that small territory in Italy which for a thousand years has been called the Papal States.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the French Revolution marked the beginning of a new era not only in the political but also in the religious history of the world. The aspirations of the age were towards union and liberty. Noble in themselves, these ideals were soon degraded by a vicious rejection of all authority, liberty rejected religion to become atheistical, unity affiliated itself to pantheism. So rapidly had such impiety advanced by the middle of the nineteenth century that even children of the Church had wandered from the path of righteousness and truth and through them Catholic thought had been weakened.

In all great spiritual emergencies it has been the custom of the Church to call together her hierarchy in General Councils and not only to set forth original doctrines, received and held by her, but also to point out and condemn opposite errors. The Vatican Council was assembled in December 1869 and not only defined two all-important dogmas but also discussed some salutary disciplinary questions.

The business of the Council was conducted in a preliminary gathering, four public sessions, eighty-nine general congregations and numerous meetings of the special committees elected to consider the various problems sent to them after discussions in the

private sessions of the Council. The purpose of the presynodal sessions (December 2, 1869) was to explain the method of conducting the affairs of the Council and to appoint the officials. The public sessions marked off in clear distinction the four grand divisions of the Council: the formal opening; the solemn profession of faith by the members; the proclamation of the decree *de Fide Catholica*; and that of the first constitution on the Church of Christ. The private sessions or general congregations were for the discussion of schemata drawn up by the auxiliary committee and of other proposals made with the approval of the Holy Father. All the discourses were carefully taken down by the stenographers of the Council and, at the conclusion of the discussion, the *Schema* itself and all the speeches on it were referred to the special committee the members of which made such alterations and amendments in it as a careful weighing of the remarks showed to be advisable. In this amended form the *Schema* came up again before the Council for further consideration and ultimately for approval or rejection.

The prelates who made up the membership of the Vatican Council brought with them an intimate knowledge of the history of their respective countries and of the religious, moral, social and political condition of the people among whom they lived. But, since they were summoned to expound the Catholic Faith and to make laws which would bind the consciences of millions of souls, European, American, Australian, Asiatic and African, a bishop, representing the smallest diocese in the world, enjoyed the same rights that were accorded to the highest dignitary in the Council. The prelates from the United States, therefore, contributed, in no small measure, to the discussions which brought about the decrees promulgated by the synod. The number of bishops from this country who publicly addressed the Council is small; nevertheless, many of them handed in written observations on the subjects under discussion and some, whose voices were not heard in the Council chamber, made their influence felt in the committees.

While much has been written concerning this outstanding event in the modern history of the Church, the only work from the American point of view is the account in the late Cardinal

Gibbons' *A Retrospect of Fifty Years* (Baltimore and New York, 1916). Besides this, there are the monthly articles on the Council, taken from the diaries of Bishops Lynch and Gibbons, which appeared in the *Catholic World* (New York, 1870); articles in the newspapers and other journals; biographies of members of the hierarchy; pastoral letters on the Council; and histories of provinces and dioceses which include a chapter or more on the Council and the questions to which it gave rise. It is the purpose of this study, therefore, to compile the story of the contribution made by the members of the hierarchy of the United States to the Vatican Council.

The compiler is indebted to the Reverend Dom Francis Augustine Walsh, O.S.B., Ph.D., head of the department of Philosophy at the Catholic University of America, for suggesting the subject; to the Right Reverend Mgr. Peter Guilday, J.U.D., of the same institution, in whose seminar in Church History the study was made; and to the Reverend John B. Delaunay, C.S.C., Ph.D., S.T.D., J.U.D., of the University of Portland, for valuable criticisms and suggestions. He is grateful, moreover, to His Excellency, Most Reverend Edward Howard, Archbishop of Portland, Oregon, for his kind permission to use documents on the Council which are preserved in the archdiocesan archives; to the members of the staff of Mullen Memorial library at the Catholic University of America for aid in locating documents and reference books; and to any others who have in various ways contributed to the compilation of this study.

CHAPTER I

PREPARATIONS FOR THE COUNCIL

A General Council is an assembly of the prelates of the Church summoned by the Father of Christendom to defend the deposit of the Faith. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was the eighteenth¹ Ecumenical Council but, during the more than three hundred years which followed, the Church had failed to witness one of these august assemblies. To summon the prelates of the Church for a General Council, however, had long been the desire of the chief bishop, Pope Pius IX.

Two days before the publication of the *Syllabus* (December 6, 1864) at a meeting of the Congregation of Rites, the Holy Father conveyed, to the cardinals present, the thought that it would be for the good of the Church to hold an Ecumenical Council. He cautioned them: "Let the cardinals study the project, each one by himself, and then submit in writing what seems good in the Lord."² In March 1865 he appointed a commission of five cardinals to report on the advisability of a Council, on the rules for such an assembly and on the subject-matter of the discussions.

The commission set to work immediately. After passing a resolution to the effect that the convocation of an Ecumenical Council was highly desirable and opportune, it decided that a number of representative bishops of different nations should be invited to draw up a summary of the matters they thought should be dealt with at a General Council of the Church.³ These resolutions were approved by the Pope and at the end of April, His Holiness sent a letter to thirty-four bishops of the Western Church and, early in May, a second letter was sent to certain bishops of the Oriental Uniate Churches.

It was not until 1867 that the Sovereign Pontiff publicly announced his intention of convoking a General Council. Great numbers of bishops from all parts of the world had accepted the

¹On the historical question of the number of Ecumenical Councils consult: Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles* (Paris, 1907), L, 78-91.

²Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio* (Leipzig, 1927), XLIX.

³*Ibid.*, XLIX, 94-98.

invitation of the Holy Father to attend the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul held in Rome, June 29, 1867. In a public Consistory, held June 26, the official announcement of the future Council was made. The five hundred bishops assembled for the occasion declared "with one heart and voice" their persuasion that, "under the blessing of God, and with the all-powerful intercession of His Immaculate Mother, the future Council could not fail to be a wonderful source of unity, peace, and holiness." Among the names of the five hundred bishops who signed the address sent to the Holy Father on that occasion were the following from the United States :

ARCHBISHOPS

ALEMANY, JOSEPH SADC, San Francisco
 ODIN, JOHN MARY, New Orleans
 KENRICK, PETER RICHARD, St. Louis
 PURCELL, JOHN BAPTIST, Cincinnati
 SPALDING, MARTIN JOHN, Baltimore

BISHOPS

AMAT, THADDEUS, Monterey-Los Angeles
 BAYLEY, JAMES ROOSEVELT, Newark
 CONROY, JOHN JOSEPH, Albany
 DOMENEC, MICHAEL, Pittsburgh
 DUBUIS, CLAUDE MARY, Galveston
 ELDER, WILLIAM HENRY, Natchez
 GOESBRIAND, LOUIS DE, Burlington
 GRACE, THOMAS, St. Paul
 JUNKER, HENRY, Alton
 LOUGHLIN, JOHN, Brooklyn
 MCGILL, JOHN, Richmond
 LYNCH, PATRICK N., Charleston
 QUINLAN, JOHN, Mobile
 RAPPE, AMADEUS, Cleveland
 WILLIAMS, JOHN, Boston
 WOOD, JAMES FREDERICK, Philadelphia

AUXILIARY BISHOPS

LEFEVRE, PETER PAUL, Detroit
 ROSECRANZ, SYLVESTER, Cincinnati⁴

The preparations for the opening of the Council went forward at Rome during the winter of 1867. The committee of cardinals

⁴Mansi, *op. cit.*, XLIX, 247-262.

which had been set up in March 1865 was charged with deciding who should be invited to the Council. Adopting the fundamental principle that "a Council is of bishops" the committee decided that by a long-standing custom all cardinals, even if not bishops, are entitled to sit and vote; that a bishop whose See is occupied by infidels, or who is in exile, or in any way hindered from the active exercise of jurisdiction, which he has not himself abandoned or forfeited (such as the hierarchy of Russia) should be summoned together with his brethren, for he is still a prelate possessed of his authority and rank in the Church; that bishops not yet consecrated may enter the Council if they have been confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff because they have power to do all the acts of a bishop excepting those for which Orders are necessary. A bishop who resigns his See from any cause and is then translated or nominated to a bishopric *in partibus infidelium* retains his dignity and is summoned with the others, but a bishop who had resigned his See and has retired to a monastery is not summoned for he has ceased to be an active prelate. Bishops may take no theologians with them for, besides the prelates themselves, only the theologians of the Holy See and the representatives of the sovereigns may participate in the deliberations of a Council.⁵ It was also decided that Abbots Nullius⁶ and Abbot-Presidents of monastic Congregations be admitted. Similarly, the Generals of Religious Orders are admitted. With regard to those Christians not in communion with Rome it was decided to send a special letter to each of the Eastern bishops, and to issue a general invitation to Protestants. Finally, owing to the change that had been introduced in the relations of the modern States towards the Church, it was decided to deviate from the usage of previous Councils and to issue no special invitation to the representatives of the Catholic countries.

In order that the prelates who should come to Rome for the Council might not be detained too long from their dioceses (as was the case at Trent), it was deemed advisable to establish preparatory

⁵Gibbons-Lynch "The Vatican Council," *Catholic World* (New York, 1870), X, 695-697.

⁶Abbots who, without being bishops, are ordinaries of a territory with episcopal jurisdiction.

committees of chosen theologians to study maturely such questions as it was thought would probably come up or be proposed in the Council. In Rome, the center of theological learning, there were eminent theologians from whom to choose but it was felt that something more was needed, to erudition must be added an intimate knowledge of the modes of thought and the practical needs of the various nations. Hence, eminent theologians from France, Germany, England, Ireland, and other countries were invited, and sent to Rome as representative men of their respective countries.⁷ Five auxiliary Congregations, one for doctrine, one for ecclesiastical-political questions, one for missions and the reunion of Churches, one for discipline, and one for Religious Orders, thus formed of Roman and foreign theologians, each under presidency of a cardinal, for nearly a year and a half previous to the Council, engaged in an exhaustive study of the subjects most likely to come up for discussion.⁸

A certain order or method was to be observed as well as secrecy with regard to what would transpire in the private sessions of the Council. The rules of the Council were formulated by the auxiliary committee, published in pamphlet form and distributed to the Fathers at the preliminary session. And, since the sessions of the Council were to be held in the north apse of the transept of St. Peter's Basilica, the place assigned had to be fitted out with appropriate decorations and suitable furniture.⁹

⁷For this purpose the Very Rev. Dr. Corcoran, V.G., was called from Charleston, South Carolina.

⁸Gibbons-Lynch, *op. cit.*, X, 695.

⁹*Ibid*, X, 697.

CHAPTER II

THE CONVOCATION OF THE COUNCIL

While no Council can be general to which all the prelates, entitled to be present, have not been summoned, the non-attendance of any or even of many of those summoned does not deprive a Council of its character of universality. In the eighteen centuries that had passed there were times when only a comparatively small number of prelates could assemble in the place and at the time indicated in the Pontifical Bull issued for the convocation of the Ecumenical Council; sometimes weeks and months and perhaps a whole year would pass by before a sufficient number of prelates could assemble to render the opening of the Council advisable; but, without one hour's delay or postponement, the Vatican Council was solemnly opened in the Basilica of St. Peter on the day and at the hour originally appointed.

The official summons, *Aeterni Patris*, convoking the Vatican Council was promulgated June 29, 1868. A second brief, *Arcano divinae providentiae*, issued September 8, invited non-Uniate Orientals to appear at the Council. A third letter, *Jam vos omnes*, on September 13, notified Protestants of the convocation of the Council.

These briefs appointed December 8, 1869, for the formal opening. In October of that year the Catholic prelates began arriving in Rome. By the first of December fully five hundred had arrived and the week that followed saw nearly two hundred more come in. On the appointed day there were present: 4 cardinal bishops; 36 cardinal priests; 7 cardinal deacons; 9 patriarchs; 7 primates; 117 archbishops; 479 bishops; 5 abbots general; and 25 superiors general.¹

Many dioceses in the world were vacant, the bishops of others were too aged to travel so far, some were detained by illness and came later, and some to their regret were prevented from attending by special circumstances of their own dioceses. None of

¹In all there were 698 of the 1002 who would have the right to enter the assembly. Cf. Synopsis of the Catholic Hierarchy (Vaughan, *The Vatican Council from its Beginning to its Prerogation*, Part the Second, IV).

those under the Czar of Russia came but, among the bishops in attendance, every other nation in Europe had a full and strong representation. Besides these there were eighteen or twenty from Canada and the British possessions in North America and more than forty from Mexico and the various States of South America. The eastern and western shores of Africa sent several who came from British Africa at the south, and quite a number, among them a Coptic bishop from Egypt, represented dioceses along the Mediterranean shores of Africa. All the ancient Oriental rites of the Church had patriarchs, archbishops and bishops in the Council. And India, Thibet, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific were fully represented.²

The prelates were seated in the Council according to their rank and precedence, first the cardinals, then the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, abbots and finally the generals of the Religious Orders. The members of the American hierarchy in the order of their seniority were as follows:

THE ARCHBISHOPS

Consecrated		Promoted	See
1843	Blanchet, Francis Norbert	1846	Oregon City
1841	Kenrick, Peter Richard	1847	St. Louis
1833	Purcell, John Baptist	1850	Cincinnati
1850	Aleman, Joseph Sadoc	1853	San Francisco
1844	McCloskey, John	1864	New York
1848	Spalding, Martin John	1864	Baltimore

THE BISHOPS

1841	Whelan, Richard Vincent	Wheeling (1850)
1843	Henni, John Martin	Milwaukee
1847	Demers, Modeste	Vancouver Island
1847	Rappe, Amadeus Louis	Cleveland
1849	St. Palais, Maurice, de	Vincennes
1850	Lamy, John Baptist	Santa Fe (1853)
1851	Miège, John Baptist	Rocky Mountains (Indian Terr.)
1853	Bayley, James Roosevelt	Newark
1853	Loughlin, John	Brooklyn
1853	Goesbriand, Louis de	Burlington
1853	Martin, August	Natchitoches

²Gibbons, James Cardinal, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years* (Baltimore, 1916).

1854	Amat, Thaddeus	Monterey-Los Angeles
1856	Persico, Ignatius	Savannah (1870)
1857	Elder, William Henry	Natchez
1857	Wood, James Frederick	Philadelphia (1860)
1858	McFarland, Francis P.	Hartford
1858	Lynch, Patrick Nieson	Charleston
1858	Verot, Augustin	St. Augustine (1870)
1859	O'Gorman, James	Nebraska
1860	Domenec, Michael	Pittsburgh
1861	O'Connell, Eugene	Grass Valley (1868)
1862	Dubuis, Claude Mary	Galveston
1865	Conroy, John J.	Albany
1865	Feehan, Patrick	Nashville
1866	Hennessy, John	Dubuque
1866	Williams, John	Boston
1867	Fitzgerald, Edward	Little Rock
1868	Gibbons, James	North Carolina
1868	Heiss, Michael	LaCrosse
1868	Hogan, John, J.	St. Joseph
1868	Lootens, Louis	Idaho
1868	McCloskey, William G.	Louisville
1868	McQuaid, Bernard	Rochester
1868	Melcher, Joseph	Green Bay
1868	Mullen, Tobias	Erie
1868	O'Hara, William	Scranton
1868	Ryan, Stephen Vincent	Buffalo
1868	Shanahan, Jeremiah	Harrisburg
1868	Mrak, Ignatius	Marquette-Sault Ste. Marie

THE ABBOTS

1846	Wimmer, Boniface, O.S.B., St. Vincent's, Beatty, Pennsylvania
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The Supreme Pontiff, however, did not merely invite the members of the hierarchy to attend him. In virtue of his jurisdiction over the whole Church, Pope Pius IX *summoned* all who had a right to be present: "The supreme pastor of the flock of God wills and commands the attendance of all the prelates and sets before them the penalties due to disobedience, and the absolute necessity of proof that their absence, if so it shall be, is due not to negligence but to the impossibility of their personal attendance."³

³Mansi, *op. cit.*, XLIX, 1249-1256; L, 193-200.

Two American Archbishops were absent. Archbishop John Mary Odin, C.M., consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Texas, March 6, 1842; transferred to Galveston, April 23, 1847; promoted Archbishop of New Orleans, February 15, 1861, while in Rome obtained the appointment of Reverend N. Perche as coadjutor of New Orleans. Soon after he was compelled by the state of his health to leave Rome. He reached his native place and died there on the feast of the Ascension, May 25, 1870.⁴

Napoleon Joseph Perche, consecrated Bishop of Abdera, *i.p.i.*, coadjutor of New Orleans, May 1, 1870, by Bishop Rosecrans. Became Archbishop of New Orleans, May 25, 1870.⁵

BISHOPS ABSENT

Baltes, Peter Joseph, consecrated Bishop of Alton by Bishop Luers, January 23, 1870.⁶

Becker, Thomas Andrew, consecrated Bishop of Wilmington, August 18, 1868.

Blanchet, Augustine Magliore A., consecrated Bishop of Walla Walla, September 27, 1846. On account of infirmities he was unable to go to Rome.⁷

Borgess, Casper Henry, consecrated Bishop of Calydon, *i.p.i.*, Coadjutor-administrator of Detroit, by Bishop Rosecrans, April 24, 1870.⁸

Duggan, James, consecrated Coadjutor of St. Louis, May 3, 1857; transferred to Chicago, January 21, 1859. On account of ill health he was removed from active administration of the diocese, April 14, 1869.⁹

Foley, Thomas, consecrated Bishop of Pergamus, *i.p.i.*, Coadjutor of Chicago, by Bishop McCloskey, February 27, 1870.¹⁰

Grace, Thomas Langdon, O.P., consecrated Bishop of St. Paul, July 24, 1859.

Hailandiere, Celestine, de la, consecrated Bishop of Vincennes,

⁴Shea, John G., *Hierarchy of the United States* (New York, 1892), 126.

⁵*Ibid.*, 127.

⁶*Ibid.*, 185.

⁷*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Biography of Bishop Blanchet.

⁸Shea, *op. cit.*, 224.

⁹O'Donnell, John Hugh, *The American Hierarchy, 1791-1922* (Washington, D. C., 1922).

¹⁰Shea, *op. cit.*, 99.

August 18, 1839. Resigned his See, July 16, 1847. Retired to his native town in France where he died May 1, 1882.¹¹

Luers, John Henry, consecrated Bishop of Fort Wayne, January 10, 1858. Excused from the Council on account of the pressing necessities of his own diocese, and in order that he might also exercise the functions of the episcopal office in favor of other and neighboring dioceses.¹²

O'Connor, Michael, consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, August 16, 1843. Resigned his office and entered the Society of Jesus, May 23, 1860.¹³

O'Reilly, Patrick Thomas, consecrated Bishop of Springfield, Massachusetts, by Archbishop McCloskey, September 25, 1870.¹⁴

Rese, Frederick, consecrated Bishop of Detroit, October 6, 1833. Illness soon impaired his energies and he was removed from active administration of the diocese. He died December 29, 1871.¹⁵

Rosecrans, Sylvester Horton, consecrated Auxiliary of Cincinnati, March 25, 1862; appointed to Columbus, March 3, 1868. For good and abundant reasons in the necessities of his new See he was excused from the Council by the Holy Father.¹⁶

Toebbe, Augustine Mary, consecrated Bishop of Covington by Bishop Rosecrans, January 9, 1870.¹⁷

Whelan, James, O.P., consecrated Bishop of Nashville, May 8, 1859. Retired to a convent of his Order.¹⁸

VICARS APOSTOLIC ABSENT

Machebeuf, Joseph Projectus, consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Colorado, Utah, August 16, 1868. Was in Rome in August 1869 and returned home before the session of the Council.¹⁹

Ravoux, Augustine, named Vicar Apostolic of Montana but declined in 1869.²⁰

¹¹O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, 106.

¹²Clarke, *Lives of Deceased Bishops of U. S.* (Milwaukee, 1895), I, 583.

¹³O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, 157

¹⁴Shea, *op. cit.*, 371.

¹⁵O'Donnell, *op. cit.*,

¹⁶Clarke, *op. cit.*, 255.

¹⁷Shea, *op. cit.*, 215.

¹⁸O'Donnell, *op. cit.*, 109.

¹⁹Howlett, *Life of Bishop Machebeuf* (Denver, 1896), 358.

²⁰Mansi, *op. cit.*, LIII, 1087.

Salpointe, John Baptist, consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Arizona in 1869. Was in Rome in August of that year and returned home before the sessions of the Council.²¹

ABBOTS ABSENT

Abbots Nullius and Presidents of monastic Congregations were admitted to the Council. Abbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., was Abbot General of the Benedictines in the United States and was the only abbot summoned to the Council.

²¹Howlett, *op. cit.*, 358.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST CONSTITUTION ON CATHOLIC FAITH

In 1864 the Holy Father had published the *Syllabus* and the Pontifical Bull, *Quanta Cura*.¹ These two documents were intended to point out and condemn current pernicious philosophical systems. But Rationalism and Atheism should be solemnly and authoritatively condemned and so the Council of the Vatican first proceeded to this task.

The *Schema, de Fide Catholica*, which had been prepared to defend the fundamental principles of Christianity against the errors of modern Rationalism, Materialism and Atheism, was presented to the Fathers of the Council at the first general congregation held on December 10. It is as follows:

- I The profession of Catholic doctrine contrary to materialism and Pantheism.
- II The profession of Catholic doctrine contrary to absolute Rationalism.
- III The fonts of revelation in scripture and tradition.
- IV The necessity of revelation.
- V Mysteries, the object of supernatural revelation.
- VI The distinction between divine faith and rational science.
- VII The motives of credibility.
- VIII Faith and the liberty of the will in the assent of faith.
- IX Necessity and supernatural constancy of faith.
- X The relation between faith and science.
- XI The unchangeable truth of the doctrine of the Church as compared with any progress in the sciences.
- XII The unity of the Divine Essence in three Persons really distinct *inter se*.
- XIII The Divine Operation *ad extra* common to the three Persons and the liberty of God in creating.
- XIV The doctrine about the Work Incarnate.
- XV The doctrine about man according to nature.

¹The *Syllabus* contained eighty propositions and the *Quanta Cura* singled out sixteen for particular condemnation.

- XVI The doctrine about men elevated to the supernatural state.
- XVII Fallen man and original sin.
- XVIII Grace which is given to us through the Redemption of Christ.²

This highly technical composition of dogmatic theology had been prepared by the auxiliary committee. Discussion of the *Schema* began on December 28 and continued until the ninth general congregation on January 10 when it, together with the observations of the Fathers of the Council, was sent to the committee *de Fide* for revision.

Thirty-five Fathers from all parts of the world discussed the *Schema*, two of whom were American prelates, Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis and Bishop Verot of Savannah. Both of these were missionary bishops but they were consummate theologians as well and both had been prominent in the debates that had taken place in the two Plenary Councils of Baltimore. Kenrick was born and educated in Ireland. He had come to the United States in 1832 and while in Pennsylvania he had held the positions of President of the diocesan seminary in Philadelphia, Rector of the Cathedral, and Vicar General of the diocese. In 1840 the young priest went to Rome to enter the Society of Jesus and, while in the Eternal City, he was chosen coadjutor to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis. His brother, who died as Archbishop of Baltimore, was the Apostolic Legate to the first Plenary Council of Baltimore and the two were classed among the foremost theologians on the American continent.³ Verot was born in France and had for fellow students at St. Sulpice in Paris the distinguished Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, and the great Dominican Friar, Père Lacordaire. Trained in the best schools of France, Bishop Verot was learned in human and divine science and his manuscripts on philosophy and theology would form several large volumes. For twenty-three years he was a professor at St. Mary's Seminary and College, Baltimore, and was frequently consulted by other divines.⁴

²Mansi, *op. cit.*, LIII, 715.

³O'Shea, *The Two Kenricks*, (Philadelphia, 1904).

⁴*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Biography of Bishop Verot.

The public discussion of the *Schema* was inaugurated by Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna. He expressed the idea that the composition was too long and too academic. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis was the second speaker on the day the discussion began and remarked that, since the purpose of the Council was doctrinal rather than controversial, the doctrines should be set forth briefly and simply according to the example of Christ so as to anathematize errors without making the reasons a matter of faith. He was of the opinion that the *Schema* should set forth the entire gamut of revealed truths for reference in future exigencies and that only those few chapters "wherein dispute might arise" should be referred to the committee *de Fide* for revision. When these were amended in accordance with the mind of the Council they should be proposed again in the general congregation of the Fathers.⁵

Bishop Verot spoke of some particular things concerning the *Schema* at the sixth general congregation, held January 3, 1870. In the wording of the doctrine regarding science and faith, the Bishop of Savannah thought the *Schema* needlessly irritating to the patrons of science and capable of being construed as a justification of past mistakes. He cited the cases of Columbus, of Galileo, and of various others who had been condemned for their scientific systems and called for an explicit restoration of their reputations by the Council in its pronouncement on science.

A bishop in one of the old slave States, where just after the Civil War the Negro problem was acute, he thought that instead of condemning obscure errors of German idealists, it would be more to the purpose to condemn theories contrary to the doctrine of the unity of the human species. He asked for more explicit teaching and condemnation of the widespread errors on this question current in America and England. He mentioned the following errors: that the white and black races did not have a common origin; that Negroes had not souls as have the whites; and that the present human race is the final product of a process of evolution from the ape. He proposed an explicit statement of Catholic teaching on these points to be included in the *Schema*.

⁵Mansi, *op. cit.*, L, 126.

With regard to original sin, the Bishop of Savannah took issue with the *Schema*, both because it attributed to the Council of Trent the doctrine that original sin was a real and personal (*verum et proprium*) sin, when in reality it never taught such a doctrine; and, because he thought the expression itself injurious to the justice and mercy of God. He proposed, therefore, that the words *verum et proprium* be struck out and in their stead there be an explicit statement that the Catholic doctrine on original sin does not suppose any personal malice in infants but only that they are born despoiled of the supernatural gift of grace which is above the exigencies of nature. Then Bishop Verot asked for more clarity on the doctrine of the damnation of those who die in mortal sin or in original sin alone. He said: "As it stood, the expression of the *Schema* could be understood to declare that infants who die unbaptized are condemned to hell-fire. This is certainly true of those who die in personal sin but unbaptized infants should be said to be condemned to hell only in the sense that they are deprived of the Beatific Vision, which, however, would not exclude them from a certain preternatural happiness."

In conclusion, the bishop asked for the explicit condemnation of those who denying the will of God that all men be saved affirm that He predestines some to eternal punishments.⁶

When the *Schema* was referred to the committee *de Fide*, on January 10, it was evident that the whole composition must be reconstructed. This duty devolved upon a sub-committee of three: Archbishop Dechamps of Malines and Bishops Pie of Poitiers and Martin of Paderborn. The original *Schema* was divided into two parts: the first dealt with the fundamentals of faith and the second, with particular doctrines. (The second part never came before the Fathers of the Council again.) The committee then discussed the revised *Schema* and on March 18 Archbishop Simor, Primate of Hungary, presented the first part to the Council as the first dogma on Catholic Faith.⁷

The new *Schema* contained a preamble and four chapters: God the Creator, Revelation, Faith, and Faith and Reason. Discussion

⁶Mansi, *op. cit.*, L, 163-164.

⁷Mansi, LIII, 164.

began immediately and at the next general congregation on March 22, Archbishop Kenrick said:

The bishops have come to the Council not to institute a course of theology, much less to pass judgment on philosophical systems. They have come to defend the Faith and to defend it by setting forth that Faith and by condemning the errors which contradict it. In fulfilling this obligation they are not mere judges but judges whose pronouncements are testimony, and not mere opinion. Hence, only those things should be condemned which undeniably contradict the Faith.

The word *anathema* is not a happy choice. Although it has always been employed by the Church still it is fitting that, after the example of Paul, the Church should make herself all things to all men, and therefore, since the use of this word may be a source of indignation to some, the Council ought to abstain, at least, from the frequent use of it and employ it only in such canons as condemn manifest errors or downright impiety.⁸

Discussion on the revised *Schema*, part by part, was taken up on the same day. The one real "scene" of the Council took place while Bishop Strossmayer of Bosnia, occupied the rostrum.⁹ On the following day, March 23, Bishop Whelan, of Wheeling, West Virginia, offered an extended criticism of the preamble. Bishop Whelan was a distinguished Latin scholar and a bishop of great zeal for the propagation of the Faith. He had no substantial changes to offer but pointed out a number of defects in clarity and suggested some milder expressions for certain phrases which seemed to him unnecessarily harsh. One observation he made is of particular interest. At the close of his discussion he proposed that the word *definientibus*, be added to the expression, *sedentibus nobiscum judicantibus*. This proposal had been made before and the word was not included in the final text, but Bishop Whelan took this occasion to state his position on the office and functions of bishops in the Church. The reader will recall that one of the outstanding issues of the Vatican Council was the question of the infallibility and absolute supremacy of the papacy. The Bishop of Wheeling, as well as many of the Fathers of the Council, apparently thought that the definition of papal supremacy would tend

⁸*Ibid.*, LI, 31.

⁹Butler, Dom Cuthbert, *The Vatican Council*, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

to minimize or deny the importance of the episcopate unless the Council should also explicitly declare the duties, powers and importance of the bishops. "The bishops," declared Bishop Whelan, "cannot renounce the rights and obligations which are imposed on them by Our Lord What Our Lord gives does not belong to us as our own Since the primacy of the most Holy Father and the rights of the foremost doctor have been well declared already, let us not be silent about the rights of bishops." Here we get an echo of the age-old theological dispute regarding the origin of episcopal jurisdiction and its relation to the absolute supremacy of Peter, a question that had been argued ever since the Council of Trent and which the Vatican Council refrained from answering.¹⁰

Discussion on the preamble ended that day and the committee *de Fide* began a revision of this part on March 25. The amendments made were, for the most part, stylistic. In the general congregation on the next day Archbishop Simor, the spokesman for the committee pointed out that the clause: *episcopis nobiscum sedentibus et iudicantibus* was founded on the text: "ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The word *judging* was to be taken in its fullest sense as including *defining*, and the acts of the Council were fully the act of the whole episcopate. "Absolutely nothing is taken from the rights of bishops." The amendment, as well as two others singled out for a formal vote had been made by Bishop Whelan. The Bishop of Wheeling now declared himself satisfied and withdrew them, so that no amendment had to be voted on and the revision could go forward. On March 29 at the general congregation the corrected preamble was accepted unanimously by the 620 Fathers present.

Meantime the discussion on the four chapters and the canons of the *Schema* was going on. The only prelate from the United States to express his mind on these subjects was Bishop Thaddeus Amat, C.M., of Monterey-Los Angeles. Bishop Amat, a Spaniard by birth and education, became a Vincentian and was ordained in Paris in 1838. That same year he was sent by his superiors to the American missions where he labored for many years as a

¹⁰Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 85.

missionary and as novice master in different houses of his Congregation. He was one of the theologians at the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1849 and a prominent member of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866.¹¹

Speaking on chapter two and its canons, Bishop Amat suggested a few changes in expression, several additions to the text, and a revision of canons two and three. Out of eight proposals made by him two more were put into the decree verbatim and the rest went unnoticed. Paragraph two of chapter two, as it came from the committee, declared that revelation was necessary to man not only on account of the ravages of original sin, but also because God in His goodness has ordained man to a share in divine blessings *quae rationis comprehensionem superant*. The text as proposed by Bishop Amat and accepted by the committee and the Council now reads: *quae humanae mentis intelligentiam omnino superant*; emphasizing the fact that human intelligence as such is incapable before the supernatural, and cannot in the least apprehend it before revelation nor penetrate to its full significance after revelation. The last lines of chapter two, prescribing in what sense Scripture must be interpreted, read, as it came from the committee: *atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum (sc. quem tenent S. Mater Eccl.) Scripturam sacram interpretari*. Bishop Amat thought that this might seem to annul Trent's declaration that the unanimous opinion of the Fathers is a sure indication of the meaning of Scripture, and so he proposed the insertion of these words after *hunc sensum*: *aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam, etc.* This proposal stands in the decree today. In criticism of the canons, Bishop Amat sought to have the condemnations more concise. He distinguished three errors condemned in canons two and three: that revelation is impossible; that it is not expedient; and, that man should arrive at all truth and perfect goodness of himself by daily progress. He asked that they be condemned separately. The canons were not changed. In closing, the Bishop of Monterey seconded the plea of previous speakers that the anathemas of the Council be directed solely against errors and not against the erring.¹²

¹¹Guilday, Peter, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore: 1791-1884*, (New York, 1932) 203.

¹²Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 146-147.

On chapter three again the suggestions of Bishop Amat were largely matters of detail, but we find that here as on the second chapter the Council was pleased to accept without change several of his suggestions. For example, we may trace directly to the influence of Bishop Amat the inclusion of the complete definition of Faith according to St. Paul which closes paragraph one of chapter three. The first *Schema* of the committee contained only fragmentary and revised statements of St. Paul's classic definition. Again, in the third canon, the inclusion of the word *debere* at the end of the canon was adopted on Bishop Amat's reasonings. He argued that to omit this word would be to deny seemingly that anyone could be brought to the Faith merely by internal evidences of its credibility. An example of the originality of the thought of Bishop Amat is to be found in his suggestion that the chapter on Faith be placed first immediately after the preamble because: "it seems more fitting first to decide what Faith is and what the authority of the Church teaching and then to explain what the Church teaches."¹³

Discussion on the Constitution was closed on Friday, April 1. Within the next week votes were taken on the different chapters and on April 12 the whole *Schema* was voted on. There were 595 prelates present of whom 515 voted *Placet* and 80 *Placet juxta modum*. These latter were obliged to explain in writing the reasons for their reservations.

The American prelates who handed in objections were: Archbishops Kenrick (St. Louis); Purcell (Cincinnati) and Spalding (Baltimore); Bishops Conroy (Albany); Domenec (Pittsburgh); Elder (Natchez); Fitzgerald (Little Rock); Gibbons (North Carolina); Loughlin (Brooklyn); McCloskey (Louisville); McQuaid (Rochester); Mullen (Erie); O'Hara (Scranton); Shanahan (Harrisburg); De St. Palais (Vincennes); Verot (Savannah); and Whelan (Wheeling).¹⁴ In these written observations two objections are conspicuous: first, every one of these who expressed himself opposed the phrase *Sancta Romana Catholica Ecclesia*; second, the term *anathema sit* was objected to on a number of scores.

¹³*Ibid.*, 231.

¹⁴Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 377 ff.

For a full treatment of the word *Roman* the reader is referred to Butler, *The Vatican Council*, I, 278. None of the American Fathers objected to the word itself and most of them said it could stand provided it was accompanied by the other marks of the Church, *e.g.*, "One, holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, etc." Archbishops Purcell and Spalding and Bishops Elder and Verot offered for their objections a number of reasons, several of which they had in common: the expression *Roman* did not exist from the beginning; it leaves an opening to those heretics who say we are not the true and universal Church but a local one, and to those others who distinguish three Catholic Churches, the Roman, the Greek and the Anglican. The early councils did not use the word; the name *Roman* is not pertinent here, it should appear more properly in the *Schema* which is to treat of the Church specifically.

The reasons given by Bishop Elder of Natchez express fully the thought of Archbishop Kenrick and Bishops Domenec, Fitzgerald and McQuaid on the second most common objection: the Church should strive to take a milder tone in these days when so many are in error not so much from malice as from ignorance and would listen to the truth if it were presented firmly but inoffensively; it seems against the usage of other councils to anathematize errors which are plainly not Christian heresies but aberrations of the pagans; most non-Catholics who call themselves Christians are really pagans since for the most part they are not baptized, especially the children of the American Protestants who remain in error through indifference and ignorance. Very few who teach these errors have any respect for the Church's anathemas (although this is no reason for omitting all of them, their number could be diminished); there is confusion about whom the anathema effects, some of the Fathers hold that only the baptized fall under it, and others that all who profess these errors bear this mark of infamy. Bishop McQuaid went so far as to ask that all the canons be deleted. Others simply urged a radical lessening of the anathemas and an emphasis on condemning error rather than the erring.

Besides these two general objections only a few American prelates proposed any particular changes. Archbishop Kenrick, Bishops McQuaid and Mullen objected to the conclusion of the canons

for chapter four. Bishop Elder was the only bishop from the United States to offer more than two or three corrections. He suggested a number of minor changes in the preamble and in the canons, all of which went without notice from the Council. Bishops Verot and Whelan also suggested some minor changes which were not accepted. The only change made as a result of these objections was a modification of the expression *Sancta Romana Catholica Ecclesia* to *Sancta Catholica Romana Ecclesia*.

On Low Sunday, April 24, the third public session of the Vatican Council was held. There were 664 Fathers present and the Holy Father presided. The Constitution *de Fide Catholica* was read and unanimously adopted by the Fathers present. The American prelates present on that occasion were: Archbishops Alemany (San Francisco); Blanchet (Oregon City); Kenrick (St. Louis); McCloskey (New York); Purcell (Cincinnati), and Spalding (Baltimore). Bishops Amat (Monterey-Los Angeles); Conroy (Albany); Demera (Vancouver's Island); Domenec (Pittsburgh); Dubuis (Galveston); Elder (Natchez); Fitzgerald (Little Rock); Gibbons (North Carolina); de Goesbriand (Burlington); Heiss (La Crosse); Hennessy (Dubuque); Henni (Milwaukee); Lamy (Santa Fe); Lootens (Idaho); Loughlin (Brooklyn); Lynch (Charleston); McCloskey (Louisville); McFarland (Hartford); McGill (Richmond); McQuaid (Rochester); Martin (Natchitoches); Miège (Rocky Mountains); Mrak (Marquette-Sault Ste. Marie); Mullen (Erie); O'Connell (Grass Valley); O'Hara (Scranton); Persico (Savannah); Rappe (Cleveland); Ryan (Buffalo); Shanahan (Harrisburg); Verot (St. Augustine) and Whelan (Wheeling), and Abbot Wimmer.¹⁵

¹⁵Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 445-450.

CHAPTER IV

DEBATES ON DISCIPLINE AND ON THE APOSTOLIC MISSIONS

The rules of the Council called for a discussion of disciplinary matters while the committee, *de Fide*, was amending the *Schemata* on doctrine. On January 8, 1870, two *Schemata* on discipline and canon law were distributed to the Fathers of the Council. The auxiliary preparatory committee had twenty-eight such subjects ready when the Council opened. They were as follows:

1. Bishops, provincial and diocesan synods and vicars general.
2. Vacant episcopal Sees.
3. Chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches and the duties and qualifications of the canons.
4. Parishes and the manner of conferring parish churches, the duties of pastors and their removal.
5. Life and morals of the clergy.
6. Ecclesiastical seminaries and the method of studies and the conferring of degrees.
7. The conferring of ecclesiastical offices.
8. Sacred Eloquence.
9. The Little Catechism.
10. The obligation of Masses and other pious obligations.
11. The use of the Roman ritual.
12. The administration of the Sacraments.
13. Sponsors.
14. Titles under which ordination is conferred.
15. Impediments to marriage, especially legal impediments, public virtue and affinity.
16. Civil marriage.
17. Mixed marriage.
18. The domicile and quasi-domicile for valid marriage.
19. Cemeteries and sepulchres.
20. Courts and procedure to be followed.
21. The manner of proceeding with a doubtful conscience.
22. The correction of the morals of the people, especially: indifferentism, blasphemy, drunkenness, impurity, theatres, luxury, dances, diffusion of bad books and pictures; the education of children, good works and other family duties.
23. Holy observance of feasts.

24. Fast and abstinence.
25. Duels.
26. Suicide.
27. Magnetism and spiritism.
28. Secret societies.¹

Only four of these subjects came under discussion at the Council, on bishops, on vacant episcopal Sees, on the life and morals of the clergy, and on the Little Catechism. The general discussion on the first two opened on January 14 and continued during seven general congregations. No American prelates took part in the debates and the two *Schemata* were referred to the committee *de Disciplina* for revision on January 25. The third disciplinary *Schema*, on the life and morals of the clergy, which was distributed on January 14, was introduced at the general congregation of January 25. Thirty-eight fathers spoke in the general discussions on this subject until on February 8 the *Schema* was referred to the committee on discipline.

On January 27, Bishop Verot of Savannah expressed the desire that, in chapter one of that *Schema* where clerics are counselled to avoid the theatres, hunting with weapons be also prohibited since amusements of this sort were entirely unbecoming the clerical state. He proposed the following addition:

Let them refrain from hunting with arms which is very unbecoming an ecclesiastic. The wretched spectacle of a man of God wandering through the field and highways in search of birds and beasts should never be shown the faithful. Nor should hunting be permitted clerics in order that they be able to avoid idleness for none should be ordained who is not attached to the ministry in some church.

Chapter two of the *Schema* states that clerics should make a spiritual retreat at least every four years. Bishop Verot said that this statement was a scandal to those in regions where these spiritual exercises are made annually by clerics. He thought, moreover, that something ought to be said about the end and scope of these exercises. He proposed a different wording to this chapter:

If, in places where these exercises were not the practice, annual exercises of this sort seem too burdensome to the

¹Mansi, *op. cit.*, L., 854.

bishop, let him for some time, in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, hold these exercises only every three or four years until he can take up a better practice. In these exercises, let clerics be warned diligently of the necessity of daily exercises of meditation, examen, spiritual reading, and other practices of piety, as well as of frequent Confession without which none can persevere in the ecclesiastical spirit. At the same time, let there be proposed to them a norm and rule of life. Let it be so indicated that, avoiding sloth and worldly things, they may occupy themselves with prayer, study and works of zeal and thus become "the salt of the earth and the light of the world." Let it be discovered to them to what a degree they can save themselves and show the way of salvation to others.

The next question taken up by Bishop Verot was the recitation of the Divine Office. After declaring absolutely that a cleric does not fulfill his obligation if he is voluntarily distracted in the recitation of Office, he maintained that the Breviary ought to be amended:

The office, especially that of Sunday, is long and particularly burdensome to the missionary. Certain parts should be deleted altogether because they arouse the risibility of the cleric.

On this latter point Bishop Verot expressed the opinion that the explanation which St. Augustine offers, with reference to the thirty-eight years' infirmity of the paralytic, is ridiculous. Because he spoke in the same vein about the homilies of the Fathers "as though to arouse laughter," the eminent President of the congregation cautioned him: "Let the most reverend bishop speak with greater reverence of the holy Fathers." Bishop Verot replied that he spoke with all due reverence and mentioned these things only in the light of history. But, since, the Bishop of Savannah insisted on bringing forward examples of this sort, he was asked to discontinue.²

On February 8 the *Schema* was referred to the committee *de Disciplina* and discussion began on the fourth *Schema*, the proposal for a standard elementary Catechism for the whole Church. In the six following congregations forty-one Fathers spoke on this

²Mansi, *op. cit.*, L, 539-540.

subject. There was great divergence of opinion, especially on the proposal that Bellarmine's Catechism, in use at Rome, should be the norm. The Catechism of Peter Canisius (now a Saint and Doctor of the Church) was in universal use throughout the German lands and besides this there were many local Catechisms which seemed to satisfy local needs. On February 14 Bishop Verot, who had published a Catechism which had been in use generally in the United States, urged that if the bishops should not agree on the whole Catechism, at least, they ought to accept certain parts which were to be taught in an identical sense over the entire world, such as: the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the precepts of God and of the Church. On this point the Bishop of Savannah remarked that, because of the difficulties brought up by some of the speakers, he was almost moved to abandon the idea of a small Catechism but, after due consideration, had decided in favor of the *Schema* because, in general, the small Catechism would be most useful and would result in a uniform teaching. "It would diminish, if not overcome entirely, the great inconvenience with which truths, even essential ones, are variously taught at present." With regard to the objections brought forth, he said:

In this Council, where the wisdom of the Church has been gathered, a Catechism edited by the bishops would be not only pleasing but altogether acceptable. A translation into all languages could be obtained easily from the bishops themselves during the Council. The inconvenience from a change in the Catechism cannot be denied, but with a small Catechism to be used throughout the Church, an efficacious remedy is set up whereby difficulties of this sort will not have to be faced in the future.

With regard to accepting certain parts of a Catechism which were to be taught in an identical sense over the entire world, Bishop Verot stressed especially that the precepts of the Church be set forth in such form as to be applicable in all regions. For example he said: "the observance of feast days is commanded but, since they are not the same everywhere, it does not necessarily follow that uniformity of observance must be introduced or that the text of the precept be altered in order that the law be uniform."³

³Mansi, *op. cit.*, L, 735.

The debate on the Catechism ended on February 22 when the *Schema* was referred to the committee on discipline. For the next month the general congregations recessed while alterations were made to the council chamber. Four *Schemata* on discipline had been discussed and referred to the committee. The *Schema* on the Catechism was the only one which was brought forward for further discussion in the general congregations if we except that on vacant episcopal Sees which was not discussed until August 23 when the number of the Council members was greatly decreased.

The discussion on the revised *Schema* on the Catechism was inaugurated on April 29 by Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna. There was still much dissatisfaction. Bishop Verot made a suggestion which was not followed. He said that any vote taken on the *Schema* at this time should be provisional because the actual Catechism should be composed first and then placed before the Council for discussion.⁴ Votes were taken on the *Schema* on May 4. There were 591 votes cast: 491 *Placet*; 44 *non-Placet*; and 56 *Placet juxta modum*.⁵ On May 13 the corrections suggested by the fathers who voted *Placet juxta modum* were dealt with by the spokesman of the committee on discipline but, although it was ready for a final voting, the *Schema* was not brought up at the next public session.

The *Schema, de sede episcopali vacante*, as revised by the committee on discipline, was discussed on August 23 during the eighty-eighth general congregation and the objections to the *Schema* were summed up at the eighty-ninth assembly after which the *Schema* on the Apostolic Missions was introduced. There were no discussions on this latter *Schema*, but some of the Fathers commented in writing on it. Bishop Elder of Natchez among those who wrote observations on the *Schema*, said:

It seems altogether desirable and even necessary to treat at greater length the question of disbursing alms in order to aid the missions. Since, as is stated in the preamble, by the mercy of God, the door of the Gospel is being opened daily to the whole world, it is essential that the means be supplied which are enumerated in the chapter, namely: the number of missionaries; prayers; and money. For all three, paternal

⁴Mansi, *op. cit.*, L, 470.

⁵*Ibid.*, L, 931-944.

exhortations are required but, concerning the third, it is also necessary that the money be distributed where the need for it is greatest. To this end it will be of the greatest help to have one universal association to provide for the missions most in need wherever they may be. Particular societies which care for particular places or works will remain valuable and necessary for other functions but, to further this very great and divine work of spreading the gospel of Christ and His Holy Church, as it can and should be spread in these days, one central society is required for collecting from all parts of the earth and for distributing to those parts which are in need. Without such a society a just and equal distribution is impossible.

According to the reports of the bishops, it is now possible for one bishop to receive from any societies, while another may be receiving from none, and so *alius quidem esurit, alius autem ebrius est*. The fact is, I know one bishop who in one year received aid from three different societies; another from two; and another from one only. And this was done not according to their need, but according to the occasions giving greater or less facility of obtaining aid. Likewise, for societies supplying ornaments for churches, *Opera Apostolica*, the same bishop for many years received no ornaments, but in one year four societies helped him. It is therefore, of very great interest to the missions in poorer places to have one central society which will know the needs of all, and accordingly will distribute aid equitably, in so far as human frailty will allow. It will be useful, moreover, to have the administration of this society remain in the hands of laymen, saving always, the supervision on the part of the Church which will be necessary to prevent abuses.

This proposal is made for different reasons:

1. because it will be a benefit to religion and piety by drawing laymen to active religious work, by assigning to them the sort of work for which they are fitted. And the administration of money is in a special way becoming to laymen for they are accustomed to it and, on the other hand, it draws even good priests away from the interior life. If, in our time, they must necessarily take part in some financial affairs, for a greater reason, they should remain free from those which laymen can direct.
2. because it is very pleasing to the lay people who give alms to these works, many of whom are strong in the faith but whose charity is weak, to see the priests leave some adminis-

tration of the money to the laymen because they see that the priests are not motivated by the spirit of avarice.

We have already (excelling in these points) that remarkable organization, the Propagation of the Faith, whose centers are at Paris and Lyons. And I wish to make special mention of it not only to honor and show gratitude to it, but to strengthen and spread it, so that it may become adequate to the needs of the missions.⁶

⁶Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 1328; LIII, 36.

CHAPTER V

THE PRIMACY AND INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE

The definition of papal infallibility seems to have been the principal question in connection with the history of the Vatican Council. Before the opening of the Council the subject had created a great sensation in the world at large and many prominent churchmen took sides on the question. Learned prelates, such as Archbishop Manning, of Westminster, and Archbishop Dechamps, of Malines, had advocated in writing the opportuneness of a definition of this papal prerogative; on the other hand, Bishop Maret of Sura, *i.p.i.*, had tried to prove the superiority of General Councils over the Pope, and Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, whose *Observations* were read all over Europe and America, held that it was entirely inopportune to decide anything on the question.

Papal infallibility had not been mentioned by the Holy See in connection with the proceedings of the Council, nor had it been suggested by those consulted about the matters to be discussed at the Council (except incidentally by one or two). In view of the controversies it had stirred up in most countries and of excitement of men's minds on the subject, it was certain that a large number of bishops would want to bring about a formal definition. The auxiliary preparatory committee, therefore, had drawn up a chapter on Infallibility to be added to the *Schema de Ecclesia Christi* if there should be a demand for a definition of this prerogative of the Pope.¹ The excitement increased after the beginning of the conciliary deliberations: the press clamored its opposition in the hope of silencing the numerous appeals made in favor of a prompt and final decision; Döllinger, a German canon, and Gratry, a French Oratorian, had their pamphlets (made up of false and injurious statements) distributed at the very door of the Council; and the influence of the question was evident even in the election of the members of the committee *de Fide*.²

The overwhelming majority of the prelates assembled for the Council considered the conciliar discussion and decision of the

¹Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 701.

²Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

question to the imperatively necessary. On the other hand, the minority, comprising about one-fifth of the total number, feared the worst from a definition, the apostacy of many wavering Catholics, an increased estrangement of those separated from the Church, and interference with the affairs of the Church by the governments of the different countries. Only a few bishops appear to have had doubts as to the Dogma itself.

For the attitude of the American hierarchy on this question it is necessary to hark to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866). In the letter which was sent to the Holy Father on that occasion and to which forty-four archbishops and bishops subscribed, we read :

The living and infallible authority flourishes in that Church alone which was built by Christ upon Peter, who is the head, leader and pastor of the whole Church, whose faith Christ promised should never fail; which ever had legitimate pontiffs dating their origin in unbroken line from Peter himself, being seated in his chair, and being the inheritors and defenders of the like doctrine, dignity, office and power. And, because, where Peter is, there also is the Church and because Peter speaks in person of the Roman Pontiff, ever lives in his successors, passes judgment and makes known the truths of Faith to those who seek them; *therefore are the Divine declarations to be received in that sense in which they have been and are held by this Roman See of Blessed Peter*, that mother and teacher of all Churches, which has ever preserved whole and entire the teaching delivered by Christ, *and which has taught it to the faithful, showing to all men that paths of salvation and the doctrine of everlasting truth.*³

The next year (1867) nearly five hundred bishops, who had assembled in Rome to celebrate the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, had no hesitation in addressing the Holy Father in the following terms :

Believing that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pius, whatever has been said, confirmed the decreed by You to preserve the deposit of faith, we also repeat, confirm and profess, and with one mind and heart we reject all that You have judged it necessary to reprove and condemn as contrary to Divine Faith, to the salvation of souls, and to the good of society.

³Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 640-644.

For what the Fathers of Florence defined in their decree of Union, is firmly and deeply impressed in our minds; that the Roman Pontiff is the Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the father and teacher of all Christians.⁴

The lawful way to introduce any new matter for the consideration of the Council was to send a petition to the committee *de Postulatis* asking leave to introduce such a measure. The first motion for the definition was made by Archbishop Dechamps of Malines on Christmas day 1869. The actual petition for the definition was first circulated among the Fathers of the Council on New Year's day 1870. On this day a letter was addressed to each of the Fathers to which was attached a petition and the arguments for which the definition was thought opportune and necessary (taken from Scripture, tradition, the General Councils and reason). Subsequently extracts from Provincial Councils favoring the doctrine were added. The letter addressed to each of the Fathers is as follows:

Most Reverend and Most Excellent Lord:

As the petition in this letter indicates, the undersigned bishops together with others, have concurred in soliciting from the Ecumenical Council the sanction of that Catholic doctrine according to which we profess that the authority of the Roman Pontiff, when teaching all the faithful with Apostolic power any questions of faith and morals, is supreme, and, therefore, exempt from error.

It is of the highest importance that as many Fathers as possible should demand the sanction of this doctrine, either for the same or for similar reasons. We request, therefore, Most Reverend and Most Excellent Lord, that you would not only subscribe to this proposition or petition yourself, but invite other Most Reverend Fathers, whom you know to be of the same mind with us, to do likewise. You will then be pleased, with the least possible delay to forward the petition, bearing your own signature, and if so be, the signatures of other Fathers, to one of the bishops, whose names are assigned to this letter. The signatures thus collected we will transmit to the special committee nominated to receive proposition, by our Most Holy Lord, Pope Pius IX.

If, however, you should deem any other mode of urging the

⁴Mansi, *op. cit.*, XLIX, 247-262. For the Americans present at this time cf. p. 3 of this study.

same request better and more appropriate, we beg that you will not omit to present to the same committee your own petition.

The petition was signed by 380 Fathers among whom are the following from the United States: Archbishops Blanchet (Oregon City) and Odin (New Orleans); Bishops Dubuis (Galveston), De Goesbriand (Burlington); Heiss (LaCrosse); Lootens (Idaho); Martin (Natchitoches); Miège (Rocky Mountains) and O'Connell (Grass Valley), and Abbot Wimmer (St. Vincent's, Beatty, Pennsylvania).⁵

Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, who had been the Papal Legate to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, was an outstanding theologian and a prodigious writer in defense of things Catholic. Two months before leaving for the Council, in August 1860, he had written to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, giving his views on various subjects which he supposed would be brought before the Fathers of the Council. One of these he designates as *The Infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff, Teaching ex Cathedra*. He says:

I have not the least doubt of this infallibility, and there are very few bishops who doubt it. The only question which may, perhaps, arise will relate to the utility, advisability and necessity of making an *explicit* definition in the Council. It will have to be considered whether a definition of this kind would not be likely to excite controversies now slumbering and almost extinct; whether an *implicit* definition, an amplification of that of the Council of Florence, which would define the Dogma, without using the word, would not be more opportune and of greater service to the cause of the Church.

Should the Fathers deem it expedient to make a formal definition, its limits should be accurately marked, and, in the accompanying doctrine exposition, statement should be made whether and how far, in the intention of the Fathers, this infallibility should be extended to Pontifical Letters, Allocutions, Encyclicals, Bulls, and other documents of this nature.

When Archbishop Spalding arrived in Rome for the Council and the question whether or not it would be opportune to define the infallibility of the Pope first began to be discussed, he inclined to the opinion that a formal definition would be unneces-

⁵Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 644-646.

sary and possibly inexpedient. He thought that Catholics everywhere believed in the infallibility of the Holy See. He argued, therefore, that there would be no necessity for a formal definition and that the proper way of proclaiming the Dogma of Papal Infallibility would be to condemn all errors opposed to it. But, when he saw the alliance of the liberal or rationalistic Catholics with the governments of Europe for the purpose of preventing the definition of what he held had always been the Faith of the Church, he considered the question of opportuneness at an end. Accordingly he drew up a *Postulatum* which was entitled: "A *Schema* for the clear and logical definition of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, in accordance with the principles already received by the Church."

At the first general congregation of the Council the names of the committee *de Postulatis* was published. Archbishop Spalding's name was among those of the members of this committee. In this new position, he felt that both propriety and fairness should prevent him from longer taking part in movements to bring special matters before the council and he, therefore, abstained from taking further steps to bring the *postulatum* to the notice of the Fathers.⁶

Bishop Wood, of Philadelphia, was senior suffragan to the Metropolitan of Baltimore. Accordingly, he advocated Archbishop Spalding's *postulatum*. It was signed by Bishops Conroy (Albany), Elder (Natchez), Quinlan (Mobile), and Williams (Boston) and, on January 3, 1870, it was forwarded to Cardinal de Angelis as the President of the general congregations and then to Cardinal Patrizi as Chairman of the committee *de Postulatis*.⁷

Five separate petitions against the definition were sent to the committee. Bishop Mrak (Sault Ste. Marie-Marquette) attached his name to one of these petitions but other members of the American hierarchy placed their names on the special one which noted three reasons why the doctrine of Papal Infallibility should not be proposed in the council. The special petition follows:

⁶Spalding, Most Rev. J. L., *Life of Most Rev. M. J. Spalding*, (New York, 1878) 384 ff.

⁷The *postulatum* and these two letters may be found in Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 663-4.

MOST HOLY FATHER :

At the feet of Your Highness we humbly and sincerely beg that the question of defining the infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff as a Dogma of Faith be not proposed to the Council of the Vatican.

Allow us to adduce from many reasons only three, which seem to suffice :

1. because discussion of the question will clearly show a lack of union and especially of unanimity among the bishops ;
2. because under the conditions prevailing in our regions, where heresies are not merely spread with impunity, but are actually prevalent, the definition, far from attracting to the Church, would only further alienate those whom we desire to win, by all prayer and sacrifice, to Christ.
3. because we foresee that interminable strife would arise from it, which we fear would impede the work of the ministry and perhaps destroy altogether the fruits of this Vatican Council among non-Catholics.

Placing these reasons before Your Holiness with sincere heart and pious intention we pray Almighty God to avert all evil from the Church and from you, Holy Father, and to enlighten and direct you by His Holy Spirit.

This petition was signed by : Archbishops Kenrick (St. Louis) ; McCloskey (New York), and Purcell (Cincinnati) ; Bishops Amat (Monterey-Los Angeles) ; Bacon (Portland) ; Bayley (Newark) ; Domenec (Pittsburgh) ; Feehan (Nashville) ; Fitzgerald (Little Rock) ; Hennessy (Dubuque) ; Henni (Milwaukee) ; Hogan (St. Joseph) ; Lynch (Charleston) ; McFarland (Hartford) ; McQuaid (Rochester) ; Melcher (Green Bay) ; Mullen (Erie) ; O'Gorman (Nebraska) ; Verot (Savannah), and Whelan (Wheeling).⁸

The signing of the various petitions for and against bringing before the Council the question of infallibility went on throughout January. They were all considered by the committee *de Postulatis* on February 9. All the members of the committee, with the exception of Cardinal Rauscher, voted in favor of inserting the definition of papal infallibility in the *Schema, de Ecclesia Christi*. The Pope approved of their decision on March 1 and five days later

⁸Mansi, *op. cit.*, L, 687.

public announcement was made that the question of infallibility was to come before the Council.⁹

The *Schema, de Ecclesia Christi*, prepared by the theologians, was presented to the Fathers on January 21. It was as follows:

Part First: Concerning the Church viewed *in se*.

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

- I. The mystical Body of Christ.
- II. The Church is the one true Christian religion.

THE PROPERTIES OF THE CHURCH

- III. The Church is a society.
- IV. The Church is a visible society.
- V. The visible Church is a society complete in all its parts.
- VI. The Church is a society necessary for the eternal salvation of man.
- VII. Outside the Church there is no salvation.

THE PREROGATIVES OF THE CHURCH

- VIII. The indefectibility of the Church.
- IX. The infallibility of the Church.

THE POWER OF THE CHURCH

- X. There is a real power in the Church; a power not only of orders but also of jurisdiction: legislative, judicial, coercive and independent.

Part Second: Concerning the Visible Head of the Church.

XI. THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

- a. The institution of the Primacy in Blessed Peter.
- b. The perpetuity of the Primacy in the successors of Blessed Peter, the Roman Pontiffs.
- c. The nature of this Divinely-instituted primacy.

XII. THE TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE HOLY SEE

Part Third: The Church viewed in its relations to Civil Society.

XIII. The harmony of the two societies.

XIV. The rights and duties of the Civil Power according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

XV. The special rights of the Church.

- a. The Christian training and education of youth.
- b. The public profession of the Evangelical counsels.
- a. The temporal goods of the Church.

Twenty-one Canons.¹⁰

⁹*Ibid.*, LI, 689.

¹⁰Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 539.

On February 22, after the *Schema* had been in the hands of the prelates for a month, the members of the Council were given ten days to write out any observations they wished to make on the first ten chapters and to hand to the committee *de Fide*. The following Americans wrote on this section: Archbishop Alemany (San Francisco); Bishops Elder (Natchez); Domenec (Pittsburgh); Lynch (Charleston); Mullen (Erie); Verot (Savannah) and Whelan (Wheeling).¹¹

For the most part their suggestions involved no radical change either in the first ten chapters or in the canons on those chapters. By far the greater number of the suggestions had to do with the clarity and force of the language of the *Schema*, additions, omissions and revisions were proposed in order to set forth more clearly and forcefully the doctrine already contained in the *Schema*. In chapters one, two and three, Bishops Elder and Whelan desired the explicit statement of scriptural proofs for the doctrine on the nature of the Church. In chapter six, Bishops Lynch, Verot and Whelan objected to saying that the Church is not a *societas libera*, on the grounds that the expression is misleading. They also objected, in this same chapter, to the statement that membership in the Church is necessary *necessitate medii*, since this phrase is used in theology to express absolute necessity, from which even culpable ignorance does not excuse. Again, in chapter seven, Bishops Verot and Whelan took occasion to insist on the explicit recognition of the good faith of many non-Catholics, and to ask that the *Schema* be worded so as to give as little offense as possible. This thought occurs again and again throughout the criticism of this section of the *Schema*. Bishops Domenec, Verot and Whelan protested against the harsh tone of chapter ten, which has to do with the coercive powers of the Church. Finally, in criticising the canons, Bishops Lynch, Verot and Whelan asked that it be made clear that the Church subjects to her punishments only her own children who have erred and that the punishments are purely of the spiritual order. This portion of the *Schema* never came before the council, or even before the committee *de Fide*, so that nothing came of the great volume of work put into it by so many bishops.

¹¹*Ibid.*, LI, 731-930.

On the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas (March 7) a formula of the definition of papal infallibility (already prepared by the theologians) as an additional chapter to the *Schema* was distributed to the Fathers of the Council and ten days (later extended to March 25) were allowed for formulating in writing the observations the prelates wished to make on chapter eleven which was to include the paragraphs on the primacy and the infallibility of the Pope. The question on Faith was, at the time, being discussed by the committee *de Fide* and the general congregations were recessed. Since it had been publicly announced that infallibility would be treated in the Council, it was thought by those in favor of the definition of this papal prerogative that the sooner that question was decided the easier it would be to make other decisions. Moreover, it was apparent that, if matters took their normal course in the Council, a year or more would pass before the bishops came to the question of infallibility.¹² The fact is that on March 10, Bishops Dubuis (Galveston) and Miège (Indian Territory) signed a petition that the *Schema* on infallibility be proposed immediately.¹³

A rumor was circulated among the Fathers that the definition of infallibility would be brought up at the next general congregation and acclaimed without discussion. On March 15 Archbishops Kenrick and Purcell and Bishop Fitzgerald signed a petition that the subject be treated in its proper place and they gave a scathing denunciation to the authors of the report: "It has come to our ears that a petition is being made that the *Schema* on papal infallibility, recently circulated, be placed before the next general congregation and be carried without discussion. We cannot think that such a proposal could be tolerated by the presidents or approved by any but madmen (*insensati*). But we give notice that, if the impossible should happen, we would immediately leave the council, and make public the reason of our departure."¹⁴

The presidents disavowed any such intention and the general congregations, which had been recessed since February 22, were resumed on March 18 for the discussion of the revised constitution *de Fide Catholica*.

¹²Butler, *op. cit.*, II, 37.

¹³Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 703-711.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, LI, 711-716.

Meanwhile the observations of the prelates on chapter eleven of the *Schema, de Ecclesia Christi* with the added chapter, were being handed to the committee *de Fide*. Only two Americans, Bishop Amat (Monterey-Los Angeles) and Whelan (Wheeling), had any suggestions to make on the chapters which set forth the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Bishop Whelan had no changes to suggest other than in the word-order and the rhetoric. Bishop Amat, on the other hand, desired that the doctrine of the inerrancy of the Holy Father in teaching, as well as his primacy of jurisdiction, be included in the chapter. The chapter condemned those who held that it is permissible to appeal from the decisions of Roman Pontiffs to a future General Council as to an authority superior to the Roman Pontiff. In place of this, Bishop Amat would substitute: "We condemn the assertions of those who say that assent is not due to the decisions of the Roman Pontiffs in matters of faith and morals inasmuch as these decisions are liable to error; or that it is permitted to appeal from such decisions to a future general council as to an authority superior to the Roman Pontiff; or, what is still more detestable, to appeal thence even to secular powers."

As to the canons, Bishop Amat (the only American who commented on them) suggested that there be two canons, one on the primacy of jurisdiction belonging to the Roman Pontiff, and the other to supply for the decree on infallibility which the Bishop of Monterey thought should be omitted.

The *Monitum* of March 7 called for written observations not only on chapter eleven but also for those on the chapter that was added. The following is the written observation on this chapter subscribed to by Archbishops Alemany (San Francisco) and Spalding (Baltimore) with Bishops Conroy (Albany); Elder (Natchez); Quinlan (Mobile); De St. Palais (Vincennes), and Williams (Boston)¹⁵:

In chapter XI, on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, after the words *summo pastore*, the following should be added in a distinct paragraph:

We declare, therefore, and define that the Roman Pontiff—to whom, in the person of Peter, Christ said: "But I have prayed

¹⁵*Ibid.*, LI, 534ff.

for thee, that thy faith fail not ; and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren" (St. Luke, xxii, 32), lest in the deposit of faith especially committed to him, he fall into error concerning faith and morals, and draw the Church, the spouse of Christ, into error—has the special assistance of the Holy Spirit which has been promised him ; therefore, to the final pronouncements of the same Pontiff, whereby he defines as the universal teacher and as with the authority of the Church, what must be held or rejected by the universal Church in those matters pertaining to faith and morals, not only external submission, but also internal assent of the mind and heart, together with the complete obedience of faith, must be shown by each and every faithful one of Christ throughout the world as soon as the same pronouncements have been made known to them.

Besides this other prelates from the United States handed in their observations separately.¹⁶ Archbishop Kenrick objected to the added chapter for two reasons: 1. The opinion that the Roman Pontiff and he alone, without the consent of the other bishops, is infallible, is not so certain that it can be defined as a dogma of faith; 2. it is not expedient to define infallibility as an article of faith even if it were true.

In support of his first assertion the Archbishop of St. Louis proceeded to attack successively: 1. The scriptural proofs offered for this doctrine; 2. the incompatibility with the writings of the Fathers of the Church and with the acts of the general councils; and 3. the various theological reasons offered by the proponents of the definition. In the argument for his second assertion, after a mere reference to the many difficulties that he foresaw would arise in the exercise of the pastoral office as the result of such a definition, Archbishop Kenrick gave warning of the grave danger of schism if the Council should approve this doctrine. He pointed out that there were several plausible, at least, reasons for doubting the ecumenicity of the council, which might be made the basis of schism and dissention, provocation being given. In conclusion, Archbishop Kenrick said: "I have recalled these things not with the intention of making threats, as it possibly seems to some, but that I might warn you of the presence of a great danger if the definition of the infallibility of the pontiff—surrounded by so

¹⁶Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 949ff

many dangers of itself—some out in the name of a general council.”

The observations of the other Americans can be summarized briefly: Bishop Amat had no doubt of the truth of the doctrine but thought it inexpedient to define infallibility at this time. Bishops Domenec, McQuaid and Verot thought the definition not only inexpedient but agreed with Archbishop Kenrick that it was impossible to define the doctrine since it was not certainly evident from scripture and tradition. The arguments used by these bishops to show the inexpediency of the definition may be summed up as follows:

1. It would cause divisions and dissensions within the Church.
2. It would gravely hamper the conversion of heretics.
3. It would give Protestants an opening to impugn the immutability of Catholic teaching.
4. It would not make good Catholics more obedient; it would make bad Catholics worse; it would make heretics even more incredulous; and it would give infidels a new opening to ridicule the Church and to weaken the faith of her members.
5. It would only aggravate the existent political difficulties of the Holy See.

Bishops Mullen and Whelan in an effort to smooth away the disagreement among the Fathers, proposed that the doctrine of papal inerrancy be stated in a milder form. Bishop Mullen would add to the *Schema* the rest of the quotation from St. Luke so that the whole should read: “But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not *and thou being converted confirm thy brethren.*” And, in the actual statement of the papal prerogative, he would include as a condition of its exercises that the Holy Father should speak as “confirming the doctrine of the bishops” as well as “exercising the functions of supreme teacher of all Christians.” The basis for this suggestion was the action of Pope Pius IX in the definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. In doing so he first sought the opinion of all the bishops and then confirmed them with his definition. Bishop Whelan believed that if the doctrine were expressed so as to show its scriptural and patristic foundations and the term infallibility were suppressed in favor of *inerrancy*, the doctrine would be agreeable to those who were then opposed to it. He offered, tentatively, a formula expressing these

ideas. It is interesting to note that nearly everything Bishop Whelan suggested found expression in the form in which the doctrine of infallibility was finally approved. The matter is certainly the same even though the form is greatly modified.

The third public session, in which the first decree on Faith was promulgated, was held on April 24. There had been much agitation in the Council over the question of defining infallibility: Archbishop Purcell and Bishops Fitzgerald, Verot and Whelan had signed a petition which pointed out that unanimity was necessary for defining doctrine.¹⁷ (It was evident that the Fathers were not in agreement on the question of infallibility.) Archbishops Kenrick and Purcell, in an effort to delay discussion on this question, had signed a petition requesting that chapters twelve and fourteen of the *Schema, de Ecclesia Christi* be placed before chapter eleven which was to include the definition of infallibility;¹⁸ the action of some of the Fathers in the general congregations was such that it called for a criticism which was signed by Archbishop Kenrick;¹⁹ finally, on April 22 Bishops Dubuis, De Goesbriand, Miège and Rappe, all anxious to dispose of the business of the council and wishing to get back to their flocks, signed a petition to the effect that the question of infallibility be proposed without further delay.²⁰ But neither the presidents of the general congregations nor the president of the committee on faith were willing to change the regular order of business and therefore, at the next general congregation after the public session of April 24 the revised *Schema* on the Catechism was brought up for discussion.

Some of the members of the committee *de Fide* felt that the questions on faith and even those on the Church were not so important as a definition of infallibility. They, accordingly, got up a petition, signed by nearly one hundred Fathers, begging the Holy Father to order the *Schema* on the Roman Pontiff to be brought on immediately. This petition had its effect for on April 29, during the forty-seventh general congregation, the debate on the Catechism was interrupted by the announcement that as soon as pos-

¹⁷Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 716-717.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, LI, 719-721.

¹⁹Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 717-719.

²⁰*Ibid.*, LI, 722-724.

sible the Fathers would receive for examination the *Schema, de Primatu et Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis*.²¹

The chapters on the primacy and infallibility, prepared by the theologians, had been distributed to the Fathers on March 6 and by March 25 all the written comments had been sent to the committee *de Fide*. The second dogmatic constitution on Catholic faith had been taken up by the committee and, therefore, a revised *Schema* on the primacy and infallibility was not ready for distribution to the Fathers. On May 9 the revised *Schema* appeared as the *Constitutio Prima de Ecclesia*, consisting of a preamble four chapters and three canons.

The first report on the new *Schema* was made on May 13 by Bishop Pie of Poitiers who was the official speaker for the committee *de Fide*. Discussion on the question engaged the Council from that time until the middle of July. The debate was long and, at times, heated, but all the leading supporters and opponents of the definition had opportunity to explain their views. During these months, besides the discussions in the general congregations, a war of pamphlets was carried on briskly outside the council. The late Cardinal Gibbons, who at the time was Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina and a member of the council, has written: "I have listened in council-chamber to far more subtle, more plausible and more searching objections against this prerogative (infallibility) of the Pope than I have ever read from the pen or heard from the tongue of the most learned and formidable Protestant assailant."²²

On May 14, at the fifty-first general congregation, Cardinal Patrizi, the Vicar of Rome, opened the oral discussion on the *Schema* as a whole. He was followed to the rostrum by Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany of San Francisco. Born in Spain, educated in Rome, long a resident in America, the experience and the command of several languages which Archbishop Alemany possessed made him a valuable asset to the Council. He was a member of the Dominican Order in which he had held high position and was a member of its General Chapter of 1850. His

²¹*Ibid.*, LI, 470.

²²Gibbons, James Cardinal, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, (Baltimore, 1916) I, 76.

counsels at the two Plenary Councils of Baltimore were eagerly sought and he had been chosen as a member of the committee on faith at the Vatican Council. Among other things the Archbishop of San Francisco said that he was one who believed that the Roman Pontiff was not wholly infallible. He considered the Pope infallible only when, as the supreme pastor and doctor of all the faithful, he proposes something to the universal Church to be held on faith. "The matter," Archbishop Alemany said, "is open to no doubt but is more certain and more founded on scripture than many other dogmas of our religion." He remarked further, that all Churches have ever had recourse to the Apostolic See in questions of faith, and all have thought that while the Holy See judges all the Churches in its own right, itself, indeed, can be judged by none. This, the archbishop confirmed by the authority of the Angelic Thomas. He added that he spoke not to be profuse on this argument but merely that the fear displayed by many about the definition of infallibility is not sufficiently founded:

First, it is unfounded because it is present before any definition has been made.

Second, it is unfounded because when Christ bade that whatsoever He had commanded then, the things which were revealed by Him should not be held back by silence.

Third, granted that the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican should define infallibility, it is the Holy Ghost Who is defining and it is evident that created reason, subject to eternal truth, is bound to submit to God when He is revealing and teaching. If some wish to disbelieve God in an instance of this kind, the Church ought not, on that account, keep silent and deprive the Catholic world of the light of the truth.

He said further "at present this definition is necessary on account of the innumerable errors that daily gain ground and for the reason that once this Council is closed it will be no easy task to assemble another." He pointed out however, that, on this question, the charity and kindly feelings of both parties must be preserved and that it must be shown that the assembled Fathers have, in fact, "one heart and one soul in God." Lastly, Archbishop Alemany asked if it would be permissible for him to propose a certain amendment to be added to the canons. When the presi-

dent of the general congregation had answered that there would be a special discussion on the canons, the archbishop ceased speaking.²³

On May 28, Bishop Augustin Verot of St. Augustine, Florida, pointed out that the *Schema*, whatever may be said by the official speaker of the committee *de Fide*, places under consideration the personal, separate and absolute infallibility of the Pope. He informed the Council that he could not admit such infallibility because it is contrary to tradition. He exposed the "monuments of antiquity" and tried to show that the doctrine of infallibility, according to its wording in the *Schema*, has no foundation at all in the ancient tradition of the Church, the Fathers received this statement with laughter, but the Bishop of St. Augustine retorted: "It is easier to laugh than to answer." Next, Bishop Verot stated the arguments usually brought forth in support of infallibility and came to the conclusion that all one can conclude from such reasonings is the necessity of communion with the Roman Pontiff, and that this communion can be preserved in spite of the supposition that the Roman Pontiff can err in faith "as sometimes has actually happened." He felt that should he cast a vote for infallibility it would seem to him a sacrilege.²⁴

On May 30, Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore, with a few preliminary remarks on the doctrine of Francis Patrick Kenrick, his predecessor in the See of Baltimore, showed that the former archbishop held and taught the doctrine of infallibility. Speaking on the proposed form and outline, Archbishop Spalding said: "There must be a distinction made between the fact and the right of the fact. The fact is that the Church has always stood by the successors of St. Peter and their decisions. The right of the fact is that from the promises of Christ and the institution of the Church, the Pope should always stand by Christ so that, exercising his highest prerogative, he will never stand alone or be separated from the Church."

In defense of the first assertion, the Archbishop of Baltimore showed that all historical facts, apparently opposed to this truth, had no force because they refer to personal opinions or particular

²³Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 949-965.

²⁴Mansi, *op. cit.*, LI, 42-45.

decisions of the Popes and not to doctrines imposed on the whole Church. For example, the much-quoted argument between SS. Peter and Paul has nothing to do with teaching or primacy. As for the second assertion, he demonstrated it from the relationship established by Christ between Peter and the Church, that of edifice to foundation. In conclusion Archbishop Spalding answered the assertion that the Church must consent before a papal definition is incontrovertible by asking: "what consent; when and where is to be had?" He intimated that in his opinion, refusal to vote for infallibility was to align oneself with the fourth article of the declaration of the Gallican clergy which had been condemned by the Holy See.²⁵

The following day (May 31) Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati took the rostrum: Born in Ireland, the future archbishop made his classical studies in the schools of his native country and came to the United States in 1820. He entered Mount St. Mary's and while teaching classics prepared himself for the priesthood. In March 1824 he sailed for Europe to complete his studies in the Sulpician seminaries of Issy and Paris. Ordained to the priesthood on May 26, 1826, he continued his studies until the autumn of 1827 when he returned to Mount St. Mary's as professor. He afterwards became president of the institution and while serving in that capacity he was appointed Bishop of Cincinnati in 1833. As bishop, Purcell was untiring in his labors, preaching, giving lectures, writing articles and providing for the growing Church in Cincinnati. He made a complete visitation of his extensive diocese the first year of his administration and in 1837, wishing to come in touch with the learned men of Ohio, Bishop Purcell became a member of the Ohio College of Teachers. That year he engaged in a debate with Alexander Campbell, founder of the Cambellite wing of the Presbyterian Church, which made a profound impression at large. After that he was called upon to deliver lectures and to preach sermons in nearly every diocese of the country. In 1850 Cincinnati was made a metropolitan See.

The Archbishop of Cincinnati in the first place observed some things contrary to the Patriarch of Jerusalem with respect to a

²⁵*Ibid.*, LII, 313-320.

comparison the Patriarch had made between the Monothelites and the Gallicans:

A comparison of this kind is odious because those who are opposed to the definition of papal infallibility cannot be branded with such a stigma, the more so since those concerned are most devout towards the Holy See. These men cannot bring themselves to vote for personal, separate, and absolute infallibility because it has not yet been explained what is meant by "to teach *ex cathedra*." Many Pontiffs, according to Bellarmine's opinion, are excused from the error which they taught. Those opposed to the definition cannot understand how they can be excused. Hence, it must be declared whether or not the dominion of the Supreme Pontiff extends over the whole earth, over kings and people.²⁶

Next, the Archbishop of Cincinnati tried to prove that the opinion of those not favoring infallibility had been held in Ireland by many prelates and by the schools. He concluded his remarks by proposing what seems to him a clearer expression of the doctrine in question:

The infallible *magisterium* of the Holy Pontiff, or rather the infallible *magisterium* of the Church itself, must be acknowledged both in the bishops, the successors of the apostles, spread over the whole world, when treating, along with the pontiff, a doctrine of the Church concerning faith and morals, and in the same bishops assembled in general councils and united under their head; and, again, in the chief pontiff himself, who, as head of the whole Church and doctor and interpreter of doctrines of faith and morals; who, as the guardian to whom the Church always remains united as a building to its foundations; and, who has received, in the person of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the charge of confirming his brethren; when he defines anything on faith and morals be held *de Fide* by all the faithful, or when he rejects anything as opposed to faith. In other words, the Holy Pontiff is infallible when he defines anything concerning faith and morals, whether the Church be assembled in council or dispersed throughout the world.²⁷

On June 3, Bishop Domenec of Pittsburgh renewed his protest against the definition of infallibility. Bishop Domenec was born in Spain. His early education was received in Madrid

²⁶Mansi, *op. cit.*

²⁷Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 341-352.

but later he went to France for further study. He entered the Vincentian Congregation, came to the United States in 1838, and was ordained to the priesthood the following year at The Barrens, St. Louis, Missouri. He served as professor at this house of the Congregation for a number of years and in 1845 was sent to Philadelphia to take charge of the diocesan seminary and to act as pastor of a parish at Germantown. He was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, December 9, 1860. During the Civil War, Bishop Domenec performed a confidential mission in Europe for our government and it is certain that he secured the neutrality of Spain.²⁸

Bishop Domenec's thesis was inopportune. "It is inexpedient," he said, "because of the number who oppose it, because of the scandals it would bring about, because of the difficulties it would create for Catholics especially in North America, and finally, because of the difficulties it would place in the way of conversions." In describing the evils which could arise from the proposed definition, Bishop Domenec seemed to make a comparison between the Catholics of America and those of Italy, saying that the Catholics of America are such not in name only but in reality as well. At this point the most eminent president of the council admonished him to speak more reservedly.²⁹

On the same day (June 3) a *Postulatum*, requesting that the discussion on the *Schema* in general close, was accepted by the vote of the majority of the Council. On the following day a petition, protesting the ending of the debates was signed by Archbishops Kenrick (St. Louis) and Purcell (Cincinnati) and Bishops Domenec (Pittsburgh); Fitzgerald (Little Rock); McCloskey (Louisville); McQuaid (Rochester); Mrak (Marquette-Sault Ste. Marie); Verot (St. Augustine), and Whelan (Wheeling). Five days later the Archbishop of St. Louis published, at Naples, the *Concio* by which his name will always be connected with the arguments brought forth against the definition of papal infallibility.³⁰

Discussion on the preamble was inaugurated by Cardinal Ma-

²⁸Lambing, *History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh*.

²⁹Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII 365-370.

³⁰A translation may be found in an appendix to this study.

thieu, Archbishop of Besançon, on Monday, June 6, and concluded on the same day. Eight speakers addressed the general congregation that day, among them three Americans, Bishops Amat, Verot and Whelan. The Bishop of Monterey proposed three amendments:

1. In the second sentence beginning: "wherefore before He was glorified, etc.," it seems that the words of Holy Scripture, which are quoted, do not retain their real sense and one should rather say: "wherefore, before He was glorified, He prayed His Father both for the Apostles and for those who through their word would believe in Him, that they all might be one." The rest can be omitted or should it be more agreeable to retain even the sequence, do so, that it may read: "and just as the Son Himself and the Father are One, so might they all be one in them."
2. From the different texts of Holy Writ it is plainly evident that Christ Himself, Who is and Who is said to be the Author of faith and charity, is, even properly speaking, the *principle* of these virtues. Therefore, this word *principle*, taken in its strict sense, it seems to me, cannot apply to the Apostle Peter, as occurs in the following section. Rather, at least in my opinion, the term *center* should be used because Christ "instituted, in the person of Peter, a perpetual center of unity of both virtues and as a visible foundation." He did not constitute him as a *principle* nor does it appear to have been regarded otherwise by the decrees of Synods.
3. Section four beginning: "Against which foundation, etc." should be corrected in the following manner: "And since the gates of hell, bent on the destruction of the Church from her foundation, if such a thing be possible, rise up from all sides with greater fury from day to day against its divinely built foundation, we show, with the Sacred Council approving, that for the protection, safety and growth of the Catholic flock, it is necessary that the doctrine of the institution, duration and nature of the Sacred Apostolic primacy, wherein consists the vigor and soundness of the whole Church be consonant with the ancient and uniform faith of the universal Church, etc., as in the *Schema*."

The reasons Bishop Amat gave for these suggestions were that they seemed to him to clarify the doctrine and to make it adhere more closely to Holy Writ and to the mind of Christ. In what esteem the Fathers of the Council had, by this time, learned to

hold his thought may be gathered from the fact that two of the three amendments, the first and the third, were accepted practically verbatim in the final draft of the *Constitutio Prima de Ecclesia Christi*.³¹

The Bishop of St. Augustine admitted that while those who are opposed to the *Schema* should refrain from speaking on it further since the general discussion had been discontinued, still he surmised that a bishop should spread the truth whenever occasion is presented. He noted that the words: "against which foundation, established by Divine Power, because the gates of hell rise up everywhere from day to day with greater fury, etc." do not correspond to historic testimony nor is this "increasing hatred" confirmed by the action of Protestants or that of Pseudo-Catholics. These words should be deleted, he said. Bishop Verot further remarked:

The preamble says that the doctrine concerning the institution, duration and nature of the Sacred Primacy is proposed according to the long-established persistent faith of the universal Church. The truth is that the doctrine is not according to the long-established and persistent faith of the Church but according to the whims of Ultra-Montanists.

The Fathers began to murmur at this remark. When Bishop Verot retorted: "The term *Gallicanism* has been used by others, therefore there should be no objection to the use of the corresponding term, *Ultramontanists*. These are two theological systems." Cardinal Bilio, the president, admonished him that the matter dealt not with the special discussion, much less with the particular point about which he was speaking. The cardinal said further: "Since there will be discussion on each of the chapters it would be expedient to determine then whether one may correctly say, in proceeding with the doctrine of the institution and nature of the Apostolic primacy, that it has not come down to us through the long-established and persistent faith of the Church. Once that is seen the speaker should deem it necessary to descend from the pulpit if, ignoring the preamble, he subjects the following chapters to an examination." Bishop Verot acknowledged the right of the presiding officer to make the observation, and reserving to him-

³¹Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 425-429.

self the privilege of speaking on the other parts of the *Schema*, he left the platform.³²

Bishop Whelan thought the entire preamble should be revised and in his speech suggested a number of minor changes. Particularly, he urged that it contain something concerning the nature and the divine privileges of the Church. During his rather lengthy discourse on the Church it is recorded that many of the Fathers manifested signs of weariness and impatience.³³

The discussion on chapters one and two of the *Schema* was inaugurated and concluded on Tuesday, June 7. The only American to speak was Bishop Amat of Monterey. Discussing the second chapter, he observed:

1. That the position of Saint Peter in the Church should be expressed rather in this way: "Most Blessed and Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, head and foundation of the Catholic Church, who, by Our Lord Jesus Christ, etc." Because: a. It was not traditional to call Saint Peter the prince and head of the Apostles; and b. It seems unwise to apply to Saint Peter the title *columna fidei* since the phrase *columna veritatis* is applied, in Holy Scripture, not to Peter but to the Church.
2. That instead of saying: "Blessed Peter . . . in his successors, the bishops of the Holy Roman See . . . at all times even down to the present, lives, presides and exercises judgment *so that* whoever succeeds to this chair . . . receives the primacy over the universal Church," it would be more forceful to put a period before "so that whoever, etc." making it a new sentence: "Whoever, therefore, legitimately succeeds to this Chair of Peter, . . . receives the primacy over the universal Church." This suggestion was accepted by the committee and the council except for the word "legitimately," and the word *unde* was substituted for *ita ut*, at the beginning of the new sentence.³⁴

Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, opened the discussion on Chapter three of the *Schema* on June 9. On the same day Bishop Amat again had some observations to make. They may be summed up under two headings:

1. Twice in the context reference is made to the pastors and faithful "of particular churches" in contrast to the Roman

³²Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 496-499.

³³*Ibid.*, LII, 567-587.

³⁴*Ibid.*, LII, 631.

Pontiff who is the pastor of the universal Church. This expression, the bishop thought, should be omitted, because a) it is understood in the rest of the text; b) it is contrary to the ordinary liturgical title of bishops, namely: *pastores ecclesiae*; c) the faithful are not so much of "particular churches" as of the one Catholic Church; and d) it might convey to many the idea that the Church is as divided within herself as are non-Catholic sects. (This amendment was accepted almost word for word by the council in the final draft of the constitution.)

2. This section seems to deal more properly with the Roman Pontiff's primacy of jurisdiction. Hence, in order not to confuse the matter of this section with that of the one following, the Bishop of Monterey suggested that the title be: *De vi et ratione primatus jurisdictionis Romani Pontificis*, and wherever, in the text, reference was made to the supremacy of the Pope in matters of faith or morals, such reference should be deleted. A corresponding change in canon three was also proposed."³⁵

On June 10 Bishop Verot had some observations to make on chapter three. During his discourse on the controversies between the school of Bellarmine and Bossuet and between the Gallicans and Ultramontanists, there were signs of disapproval manifested by many of the Fathers, and when he offered to read a long tract, there was a general protest: "Do not read it!" Bishop Verot then proposed a number of amendments, the general tenor of which was to limit the absolute, personal suremacy of the Holy Father and to give explicit expression to the position of the bishops in the Church. Among other things, the bishop said: "I make a motion that what up to now has been freely discussed be placed under censure, so that it would be necessary for one either to depart from the Church or submit."³⁶

The committee *de Fide* reported on the modifications proposed on the preamble on June 13 and on those of chapters one and two of the *Schema* on June 15. Votes were taken on those parts of the *Schema* on those two days and they were unanimously approved. The discussion on the third chapter of the *Schema* was concluded on June 14 and, after the voting on the next day, Car-

³⁵Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 790.

³⁶*Ibid.*, LII, 790-797.

dinal Mathieu, Archbishop of Besançon, opened the discussion on the fourth chapter.

On Monday, June 20, Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, proposed the insertion, either before or after the canons, of an amendment explicitly warning pastors to expound this doctrine cautiously, to distinguish carefully infallibility from impeccability and from inspiration, and to make clear the difference between the pontiff's private teaching and his official pronouncements on faith and morals. He closed his proposed amendment with a touching re-expression of this doctrine couched in the language of his own faith, amidst the applause of the Fathers. Afterward, he declared that the doctrine of papal infallibility was firmly believed by the Catholics of the United States, and supported this assertion by many illustrations.³⁷

On Saturday, June 25, Bishop Whelan of Wheeling, declared that although the question of papal infallibility was a disputed one in America, England and Ireland, he himself was convinced by the arguments in favor of this doctrine. He proposed that the formula should state explicitly that the definition of the infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff is indeed an expression or a declaration of the faith of the Church which is the guardian and teacher of the revealed Word; but that, on the other hand, the pronouncements of a council of bishops should not be ignored, because the Apostles were instructed not by Peter, but by the Holy Spirit. He then urged several amendments, one that there be contained in the Dogma to be defined, the declaration that this is defined with the consent of the Churches; and, another, to omit from the chapter all reference to the magisterial powers of Peter as proving papal infallibility together with the references from the Councils of Lyons and Florence, which some Fathers found displeasing, and instead let the Divine promises made to the Church and to Peter as its head, be emphasized, since these alone can prove papal infallibility.³⁸

On Tuesday, June 28, Bishop Amat of Monterey, addressed the Council on this fourth chapter. He suggested, first of all, that the title be changed from *de Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate*

³⁷Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 870.

³⁸*Ibid.*, LII, 915.

to *de Primatu magisterii Romani Pontificis*. Secondly, he offered what seemed to him a clearer statement of the source of infallibility, namely, that it was a natural and implicit consequence of the supreme apostolic authority given to Peter and to his successors. Finally, he proposed a somewhat briefer and more clear-cut expression of the doctrine of infallibility. "The definition, thus conceived," Bishop Amat concluded, "seems to follow plainly from the text adduced in the *Schema* . . . this inerrancy ought necessarily to inhere in the primacy of the Roman Pontiff in order, continually, to preserve unity in the Church. It lays down a doctrine that all the theologians from St. Alphonsus Ligouri teach in common. And finally this definition seems agreeable to all and will obtain the vote of all the bishops, *per placet sine modo*. May God will that so it be." Although the entire chapter on infallibility was revised, amplified and clarified in the committee, it does not require too close a reading to see, in the ultimate form of the decree, the effects of Bishop Amat's thought. He would seem responsible at least in part for the word, *magisterio*, in the title and for the omission from the definition (as plainly unnecessary) the statement that the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff and of the Church have one and the same body of truth as their object.³⁹

The last American to address the Vatican Council was Bishop Verot of St. Augustine. On June 30, he arose to make his final futile effort against the definition of infallibility. He repeated the same assertions that had been made before both by himself and the others who agreed with him:—no convincing scriptural argument can be adduced; tradition is neither clear nor certain; it is false to say that this doctrine is and has always been the constant and uniform faith of the Church; and, finally, the cases of Popes Liberius, Symmachus and others show us that Popes can err in faith and morals. He wished to give some other considerations but the Fathers began to murmur that it was getting late. He nevertheless took issue with some of the forty cases of heresy treated by Bellarmine of which he said "there was to be found obscurity, requiring explanation." He concluded in beseeching that the definition of infallibility be not simply defined

³⁹Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 955.

without qualifications. The amendments he proposed were two: first, to substitute the words "supreme teaching power" for the word "infallibility" in the title. Second, so to modify the definition of the papal teaching power as to make the papal infallibility not a personal inerrancy but one shared with the episcopate at large.⁴⁰

On July 4 the discussion on the fourth section was concluded and, although there were other bishops who had handed in their names for discussion on this matter, all, Archbishop Blanchet (Oregon City) among them,⁴¹ withdrew their names. The next day Bishop Zinelli of Treviso, as the official speaker for the committee *de Fide*, presented the report on the modifications to chapter three of the *Schema* and the votes were taken. Finally on Wednesday, July 13 the votes were taken on chapters three and four. There were 601 Fathers present: 451 voted *Placet*, 62, *Placet juxta modum*, and 88, non-*Placet*.

The Fathers who voted *Placet juxta modum* were obliged to hand in their reasons for voting in this manner. There were four Americans who gave their *Placet* with reservations: Archbishops Blanchet and McCloskey (New York) and Bishops Amat and Demers (Vancouver's Island). Archbishop Blanchet professed his whole-hearted belief in this doctrine but thought that the constitution was not explicit enough in proclaiming the infallibility of the Holy Father when condemning error. He asked that this be corrected before the final proclamation of the decree.⁴² Archbishop McCloskey wrote that he did not at all agree with the substitution of the words *anathema sit* for *sciat se a veritate fidei Catholicae*, etc., at the end of chapter four. He would delete *anathema sit*.⁴³ Bishop Demers offered as his reason for voting *juxta modum*: "On page eleven line nine, in the fifth paragraph of chapter four (which has been rearranged) there should be placed (as in the former *Schema*, page thirteen line twenty-three): *quid ab universa vel tamquam fidei contrarium reiiciendum*. In order that it may be acceptable to the votes of many,

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, LII, 980.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, LII, 1947,1050—A translation of his speech may be found in ■■■ appendix to this study.

⁴²Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 1297.

⁴³*Ibid.*, LII, 1301.

let the canon be placed in the customary form, so that our definition may be the more strengthened and corroborated.⁴⁴ Bishop Amat offered criticisms of the preamble and of chapters three and four as his reasons.⁴⁵ The amendments were retained in the general congregation on July 16.

On Sunday, July 17, a protest against the holding of the fourth public session was signed by fifty-five prelates among whom were Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis, Bishop Michael Domenec of Pittsburgh, and Bishop Augustin Verot of St. Augustine. The protest was as follows:

MOST HOLY FATHER:

In a general assembly held on the thirteenth day of this month, we voted on the *Schema* of the first dogmatic constitution of the Church of Christ. It is known to Your Holiness that there were eighty-eight Fathers who, urged in conscience and motivated by a love of the Holy Church of Christ, cast their vote by the words *non-Placet*; that there were sixty-two others who voted by the words *placet juxta modum*; and, finally, that there were about seventy-six who were absent from the assembly and who refrained from casting their vote. Besides these there were also some others, who, on account of sickness or because of other grave reasons, have returned to their dioceses.

For this reason our votes were made known and manifest to Your Holiness and to the whole world, and it is clearly evident how our opinion is approved by many bishops, and in this manner we have performed the duty and the right which rests upon us.

Since that time nothing further has happened which might make us change our opinion, rather there have been many very serious things which have happened that will not allow us to draw back from the stand we have taken. And, therefore, we declare that we renew and confirm the votes which we have already cast.

Thus confirming our votes by this writing, we have decided that we will not be present at the public session which is to be held on the eighteenth day of this month. For filial piety and reverence, which so recently led our delegates to the feet of your Holiness, will not suffer us, in a cause so proximately concerning the person of Your Holiness, openly and before

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, LII, 1297.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, LII, 1275, 1282, 1294.

a Father to say: *non-Placet*. And, besides, the votes cast solemnly would only reiterate the votes taken in a general Congregation.

We will return,⁴⁶ therefore, without delay to our flocks, to whom we are eminently necessary after so long a delay both on account of the fears of war and their most pressing spiritual needs. We are grieved that we shall find the peace and tranquility of conscience upset by the trying times in which we live.

Meanwhile, therefore, heartily recommending ourselves to the grace and protection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Church of God and Your Holiness, in whom we place an implicit trust, and whom we obey, we are together with those who are under us and who were absent from Your Holiness, the most devoted and obedient sons.⁴⁷

The question of papal infallibility predominated the whole council and the American prelates were as much divided on this question as those from other countries although the subject did not have the same significance here as in Europe. On January 15 many of the American Fathers—Archbishops Kenrick (St. Louis), Purcell (Cincinnati), and McCloskey (New York); and Bishops Amat (Monterey-Los Angeles), Bacon (Portland), Bayley (Newark), Domenec (Pittsburgh), Feehan (Nashville), Fitzgerald (Little Rock), Hennessy (Dubuque), Henni (Milwaukee), Hogan (St. Joseph), Lynch (Charleston), McFarland (Hartford), McQuaid (Rochester), Melcher (Green Bay), Mullen (Erie), Mrak (Sault Ste. Marie-Marquette), O’Gorman (Nebraska), Verot (Savannah), and Whelan (Wheeling), with others, had signed a petition against defining this prerogative of the Pope. During the council some of these Fathers returned to their homes,⁴⁸ while other remained and voted *Placet*, *Placet juxta modum* or *non-Placet*, at the General Congregation held on July 13. Moreover, on account of the war which threatened to break out between Prussia and France, a number of the Fathers of both opinions had returned to their homes and shortly before the fourth

⁴⁶A *Monitum* was issued on July 16 stating that, while the Council would continue after the fourth public session, the Fathers would be permitted to return to their homes until November 11, provided they signified this in writing.

⁴⁷Mansi, *op. cit.*, LII, 1328.

⁴⁸Mansi, *op. cit.*, L. 339-1070.

public session a large number of bishops received permission to leave Rome.

The American Fathers who had voted *Placet juxta modum*⁴⁹ at the General Congregation on July 13 all voted *Placet* at the public session. Bishop Ryan (Buffalo) was absent from both sessions on account of sickness but confirmed his faith by letters given to the Supreme Pontiff on September 10, 1870.⁵⁰ Two of the American prelates, Bishops Conroy (Albany) and O'Connell (Grass Valley) were absent from the General Congregation but voted *Placet* at the public session.⁵¹ In the General Congregation Archbishop Kenrick (St. Louis) and Bishops Domenec (Pittsburgh), Fitzgerald (Little Rock), McCloskey (Louisville), McQuaid (Rochester), Mrak (Marquette-Sault Ste. Marie), and Verot (St. Augustine) had voted *non-Placet*. Of these bishops, McCloskey voted *Placet* and Fitzgerald *non-Placet*, while the others absented themselves from the public session of July 18.⁵²

The Bishop of Little Rock had received permission to return to his diocese on July 13. Before the public session he wrote the following letter to the secretary of the Council:

ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REVEREND SIR:

Since on the one hand I have obtained permission to depart from the general congregations and from our Most Holy Father, as your benevolent letters inform me; and, on the other hand, since I am unwilling to vote *non-Placet*, both because of reverence towards our most Holy Father and because I would have a regard to my honor, I ask that my name be not read tomorrow in the public session.

As far as the other things are concerned, I profess that I wish to follow in all respects the decrees of Holy Mother, the Church, and of this Council of the Vatican.

Your most devoted servant,

EDWARD FITZGERALD,
Bishop of Little Rock.

Although Bishop Fitzgerald was present at the public session on July 18, nevertheless, as he desired, he was not called upon

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, LIII, 955-1002.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, LIII, 1050.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, LIII, 1916, 1035.

⁵²*Ibid.*, LIII, 967.

in his order, to cast his vote. But through the assigner of places he sent this letter to the reverend secretary:

REVEREND SIR:

Since I am present at the Council, I wish to cast my vote.

EDWARD FITZGERALD,
Bishop of Little Rock.

Actually called upon then by the sub-secretary he cast his vote by the words *non-Placet*. After the public session, when the Pope had already confirmed by his authority the Constitution *Pastor aeternus*, he, coming down from his place, went up to meet the Pope at the steps of the throne, and made his profession of faith saying: "Now I believe, Holy Father."⁵³

Archbishop Kenrick presented his acceptance on January 13, 1871. Writing from St. Louis to Cardinal Alexander Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, the archbishop said: "I returned home at the end of the year just elapsed and I indicated in a public assembly my adherence to those things which were promulgated by the fourth public session of the Vatican Council."⁵⁴ That he gave public adherence to the doctrine of infallibility is evidenced by the following:

The return of the Archbishop of St. Louis was hailed by the whole city and diocese. Public demonstrations began at an early hour: the various local Catholic societies assembled and formed in processional order and proceeded to St. John's Church where the archbishop was to celebrate Mass. The administrator of the diocese read an address of welcome. . . .

At the conclusion of this address the archbishop arose and responded as follows:

With regard to that portion of the address that refers to my course in the Vatican Council, I will state briefly the motives of my action, and the motive of my entire and unreserved submission to the definition emanating from that authority.

Up to the very period of the assembling of that council I had held as a theological opinion what that council has decreed to be an article of Christian faith; and yet I was opposed, most strongly opposed, to the definition. I knew that the misconceptions of its real character would be an obstacle

⁵³Mansi, *op. cit.*, LIII, 1935.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, LIII, 955.

in the way of the diffusion of Catholic truth. At least, I thought so. I feared in certain parts of Europe, especially, that such a definition might lead to the danger of schism in the Church; and on more closely examining the question itself, in its intrinsic evidence, I was not convinced of the conclusiveness of the arguments by which it was sustained, or of its compatibility with certain well-ascertained facts of ecclesiastical history which rose up strongly before my mind. These were the motives of my opposition. The motive of my submission is simply and solely the authority of the Catholic Church. That submission is a most reasonable obedience, because of the necessity of obeying and following an authority established by God; and having the guarantee of our Divine Savior's perpetual assistance is in itself evidence, and cannot be gain-said by anyone who professes to recognize Jesus Christ as his Savior and his God.

Simply and solely on that authority I yield obedience and full and unreserved submission to the definition concerning the character of which there can be no doubt as emanating from the council, and subsequently accepted by the greater part even of those who were in the minority on that occasion. In yielding this submission I say to the Church in the words of Peter and of Paul: "To whom, O, Holy Mother, shall we go but to Thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we have believed and have known that thou art the Pillar and the Ground of Truth."⁵⁵

Bishop Domenec sent his adherence by a letter, dated December 31, 1871, also addressed to Cardinal Barnabo:

MOST EMINENT AND REVEREND LORD:

From the first day of my return from the Vatican Council I have made public my adherence to all the decrees and definitions of the council, and in many addresses to Catholics and non-Catholics I have constantly approved and defended these decrees and definitions. Wishing, however, to show my adherence in more solemn manner, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reign of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX, I convoked the clergy of my diocese and publicly in their presence declared my adherence to all the decrees and definitions of the Vatican Council; all the clergy then declared their adherence in the same solemn manner before me. In the letter of congratulation which I signed with my own hand and sent to the Supreme Pontiff, you

⁵⁵O'Shea, *The Two Kenricks*, (Philadelphia, 1904) 331-334.

will find these words referring to the Vatican Council: *whose decrees and definitions we accept from the depths of our mind and heart*

I thought that all this was sufficient and satisfactory to express my adherence to the decrees and definitions of the council. But, as the most illustrious and Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore made known to me that it was the desire of the Supreme Pontiff that I declared formally my adherence, to all the decrees and definitions of the council, I immediately sent him such a declaration of adherence, which I also am sending to you, together with a donation from my diocese for the Supreme Pontiff. In conclusion I beg of you that, if I did not send the aforesaid adherence sooner, you will please attribute it not to negligence or bad will but rather to misunderstanding, for which I am deeply and sincerely sorry.

The thirty-first day of December 1871.

MICHAEL DOMENEC,
Bishop of Pittsburgh.⁵⁶

The Bishop of Rochester gave his adherence to both constitutions, *Dei Filius* and *Pastor aeternus*, publicly in his diocese in 1875.⁵⁷ That Bishop McQuaid had made official announcement of the dogmas as soon as he returned to his diocese is evident from the following excerpt from a sermon which he preached in his cathedral at Rochester on August 28, 1870:

The question is simple enough. The definition is clear enough. The Pope is declared to be infallible. This is the ordinary language used, and men are horrified that a man like this should be made infallible, raised above man, made something like God in Heaven, one that cannot err, one that cannot be deceived. When we use the term: "The Pope is Infallible" in that sense it is not correct—it is not true. The Pope is infallible in certain things. The doctrine declares that the head of the Church, *in matters of faith and morals* as contained in the Apostolic traditions, cannot err, when thus acting in such matters, by the Divine Assistance that is thus given him, that is, when he has fulfilled the office of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, in teaching the Universal Church the things of morals and of faith revealed by Christ, the assistance of God will be with him to keep him from error. But in politics, in business matters, and the government of

⁵⁶Mansi, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷Mansi, *op. cit.*

his own State, in temporal affairs, in scientific subjects or literary subjects, he stands where all other men stand, and his knowledge is worth the capacity of his mind, and the education it has received. God has never promised to be with him under such circumstances nor in such cases.⁵⁸

The Bishop of St. Augustine gave his adherence to the Secretary of the Council in the following letter:

By these present letters I declare that I adhere to the constitution promulgated in the fourth public session.

AUGUSTIN VEROT,
*Bishop of St. Augustine.*⁵⁹

Rome, July 25, 1870.

Bishop Mrak immediately made known his adherence to the decree on infallibility by a letter to the Supreme Pontiff. This is proved by the following letter sent to him by his Eminence, Cardinal Barnabo:

IGNATIUS MRAK,
Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette.

Your most Illustrious and Reverend Lordship:

Your letter in which you stated that you adhere fully to the decrees of the Vatican Council, and especially the decree handed down in the fourth session, has just been taken to our most Holy Father. As I know that His Holiness receives such letters with deep gratitude, I have been mindful to notify you.

CARDINAL BARNABO.⁶⁰

Rome, Feb. 4, 1871.

Offices of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagand.

Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati was granted permission to return to his diocese on June 30 and therefore was not present for the General Congregation of July 13 nor for the public session in which the constitution on the primacy and on the infallibility of the Pope was declared. It is almost certain that had he been present he would have voted *non-Placet* on both occasions. The following account of him proves his adherence to the decrees of the Council:

In the public welcome which was accorded him in Mozart

⁵⁸Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, (Rochester, 1938), II, 60.

⁵⁹Mansi, *op. cit.*, LIII, 1009.

⁶⁰Mansi, *op. cit.*, LIII, 1053.

Hall, Cincinnati, Archbishop Purcell publicly read the fourth chapter on the Papal Infallibility and professed his belief in it according to the full tenor of the words:

"I come here to proclaim the personal infallibility of the Pope in his own words. I am a true Roman Catholic, as I said in Rome. I have written to the Pope from our provincial council here in Cincinnati. I have signed decrees and addresses to the Pope from the Council of Baltimore; and in all these, as in my discourse before the ecumenical council, I have vindicated the rights of the Pope and the infallibility of the Catholic Church in the strongest language I was capable of using, in Rome, and I am not going back on that.

"I want the editors of newspapers and reporters to send it on the wings of the press, North, South, East and West, that John B. Purcell is one of the most faithful Catholics that ever swore allegiance to the Church. Let them say what they please of me and my course in Rome, for that I have received the thanks and congratulations of those who do not think exactly as I do. It is by free discussion the truth is elicited and without such discussion it cannot be."⁶¹

⁶¹Lamott, John H., *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, (Cincinnati, 1921), 80-82.

CHAPTER VI

SUSPENSION OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL

A pamphlet called "The Last Hour of the Council" was published shortly after the fourth public session of the Vatican Council. Its author, anonymous, after blaming severely the inferior clergy and the laity for expressing their feelings on the question of Papal Infallibility, assumes the right to judge the Council, the Pope and all, in a most authoritative manner. While it is unacknowledged it is a fiendish production, for never did any slanderer lie with greater impudence.

The account of the Very Reverend B. Delorme, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Oregon City, who was an eye-witness of the scene in the Vatican Council chamber when the Dogma of Papal Infallibility was solemnly defined, completely denies all the false statements of the pamphlet. It follows:

But let us come to the grand ceremony of yesterday. Early in the morning I accompanied Most Reverend F. N. Blanchet and the Right Reverend M. Demers to the Basilica of St. Peter. They took their seats as usual in the Conciliary Hall, and I had my place in the tribune or gallery reserved to the procurators of absent bishops. Right Reverend A. M. Blanchet of Nesqually, had appointed me his mandatory; from my seat I could see and hear everything.

Although the *Schema* had four chapters it was mainly against the last one, treating of the infallible magistry of said primacy, that the opposition raised its batteries. The first sketch of it was already a masterpiece. Still it had to be reformed, enlarged, reviewed, discussed, rediscussed and strengthened, so that every word being admitted only after a complete trial of it, the result is, that the chapter, with the same meaning, is more warranted and more inexpugnable than ever.

A low Mass in honor of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by one of the Cardinals, the Fathers and the Christian people assisting at it with joyful devotion. The partition separating the Council room from the main part of the Church had been removed. When Mass was over, Pius IX, more venerable than ever, came in with his attendants. The usual prayer addressed to the God of light, being recited, the litanies were sung. Towards the end of them, our Holy Father, with the mitre on his head and the cross in his hand, blessed three

times the sacred Synod and the whole Church. His harmonious voice had an accent so touching that every one in the vast assembly was moved to respect and love. After the litanies, a chapter of the Gospel, suited to the occasion, was sung by one of the Cardinal Deacons, Annibal Capalti.

Then the singing of the *Veni Creator* followed, the dignitaries of the Church and the faithful having but one voice in repeating the well known hymn.

Bishop Valenziani, of Bariano, had been selected, on account of his powerful voice for reading *The First Dogmatical Constitution about the Church of Christ*. He read it slowly and with a deep emotion felt by all. When the last word of it had rung in every ear and penetrated every heart, all the Fathers of the Council, who had no leave of absence except after the session, were called one by one in order to give their public and solemn vote on the matter. 646 were summoned; 533 answered *placet*, 2 said *non-placet*, and 111 were reported absent.

The report duly made being presented to the Chief of the Church, he got up and said with a solemnity becoming the Vicar of Christ: "The decrees just read have been assented to by all Fathers, two only being excepted; and we, the sacred Council approving, enact, confirm and sanction them as they have been read."

Acclamation after not being permitted in a Church; but the inward feelings could not be restrained on such an occasion and when the Dogma was definitively promulgated, a thundering applause filled the Council room and the whole basilica. The venerable Fathers, all the clergy and the multitude of Christians gathered in the house of God were accepting enthusiastically the doctrine added to their faith. The voice of heaven seemed to correspond to the voice of man; for loud and awe-striking thunders were heard repeatedly just then, as if about to shake the foundations of the gigantic temple. As soon as Pius IX could speak, that is, when silence was at last obtained, he addressed his flock in a tone and with words not to be forgotten by those who had the happiness of hearing them. The *Te Deum*, intoned by him, came next, and I never witnessed such a rapture in singing it. It seemed that the heart of every one present was poured out as an homage of gratitude to God. Finally the apostolic blessing was given, and then renewed cheers and acclamations terminated the fourth public session of the Council of the Vatican.¹

¹The *Catholic Sentinel*, Portland, Oregon, September 10, 1870.

Rumors of war between France² and Prussia became loud and frequent just previously to the fourth general congregation and it was well known that in the event of war an invasion of Rome by Victor Emmanuel might be expected immediately. War was actually declared on July 19 and many prelates made use of the privilege extended to them. The Pope became a prisoner in the Vatican Palace and remained such until the Concordat of 1929.

There were only 136 fathers left in the city to carry on the business of the council but another *Monitum* was issued on August 9 which proclaimed the next General Congregation and which provided for the election of ten Fathers to the committee, *de Disciplina*, to take the place of those who had left Rome for a time. The election took place at the eighty-seventh General Congregation,³ held on August 13 and the *Schema* on vacant episcopal Sees, which had been revised, was distributed during this Congregation. Discussion on this disciplinary measure was taken up in the following Congregation which was held August 23, and on September 1, the last General Congregation was held.

The Apostolic Letter, by which the Vatican Council was suspended, until a more opportune time, was dispatched to the members of the Council on October 20. It is as follows:

For the future remembrance of the thing.

Since by the help of God WE were permitted last year to begin the celebration of the Vatican Council, We beheld the business of this most weighty and most sacred undertaking, by the cooperating wisdom, virtue and industry of the Fathers very numerously assembled from all parts of the world, proceed so that the certain hope beamed upon US that the fruits WE ardently desired would happily result therefrom to the good of religion and to the profit of the Church of God and of human society.

And, in fact, already from the four public and solemn Sessions that have been held, salutary and opportune Constitutions in the matter of faith have been brought forward and promulgated by US with the approbation of the Sacred Council; and other things relating both to matters of Faith and to ecclesiastical discipline have been brought under discussion by the Fathers, and might in a short time have been enacted

²France had been lending its protection to Rome and the Papal States.

³Archbishop Blanchet was one of the Fathers elected to this committee.

and promulgated by the supreme authority of the teaching Church.

WE trusted that these labors would be able to continue their progress by the united diligence and zeal of the Brotherhood, and be brought by a smooth and successful procedure to the desired completion.

But the sudden sacrilegious invasion of this beloved city, of OUR See, and of the remaining provinces of OUR Temporal Dominion, by which invasion, against all law and with incredible perfidy and audacity, the undisputed rights of the Civil Principality of US and of the Apostolic See have been violated, has cast US in such a condition of affairs, that, by the permission and inscrutable dispensation of Almighty God, WE are completely placed under hostile domination and power.

Under these deplorable circumstances, as WE are hindered in many ways from the free and unfettered exercise of the Sovereign authority conferred on US by God, and as WE are well aware that the needful freedom, safety and quiet cannot possibly be possessed by and secured to the Fathers of the Vatican Council, while it abides in this beloved City, and while the state of affairs aforesaid subsists; that they may rightly with US transact the Church's affairs; and, moreover, as the needs of the Faithful under the great public calamities and disturbances of Europe do not permit so many Pastors to be absent from their churches; therefore, WE, beholding, to the grief of OUR soul, things brought to that pass that the Vatican Council cannot go on in such times, after mature deliberation of OUR own motion and by the Apostolic authority, do by the tenor of these presents suspend and announce to be suspended to a more opportune and convenient season to be declared as such by the HOLY See, the celebration of the said Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, and WE pray God, the founder and defender of His Church, that all hindrances being at length removed He would speedily restore liberty and peace to His most faithful Spouse.

And because the more the Church is vexed with more and graver perils so much the more ought WE to be instant in prayer and supplication day and night to God and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation, WE will and command that what was decreed and ordained in the Letters Apostolic dated the 11th of April in last year in which Letters WE granted a Plenary Indulgence to all the faithful in form of a Jubilee on the occasion of the Ecumenical Council, shall remain in force and vigor in manner and form prescribed by those Letters, the

same as if the celebration of the Council were still proceeding. These things WE determine, announce, will, and command; all things contrary notwithstanding; decreeing as null and void whatsoever any man knowingly or unknowingly shall attempt in contravention hereof.

Therefore to no man shall it be lawful to infringe this OUR writing of suspension, announcement, will and decree; or to contravene it by rash daring; and if any man shall presume so to attempt let him know that he shall incur the anger of Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. And to the end that these OUR Letters present may come to the knowledge of all whom it may concern, WE will that copies of them be affixed to and published at the doors of the Lateran Church and of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles and of St. Mary Major of the City, and that being published and affixed they do bind all the singular whom they concern the same as if they had been nominally and personally intimated to each.

Given at Rome at Saint Peter's under the Ring of the Fisherman this twentieth day of October, the year 1870, in the twenty-fifth year of OUR Pontificate.

N. CARDINAL PARACCIANI-CLARELLI.⁴

On October 22, Archbishop Spalding sent a letter from London to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Congregation, *de Propaganda Fidei*, in which he made the proposition, which met the approval of Cardinal Cullen, Archbishops Manning and Dechamps, to continue the Council in the Belgian City of Mechlin. He gave ten reasons why this city seemed suitable for such sessions. Unfortunately the general condition of affairs was such that a continuation of the Council even at this most suitable place could not be considered at that time.

The Reverend Joseph Schade⁵ asks the question: "Will the Vatican Council be Reconvened?" In this article Father Schade points out that while it is not within our province to question the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff regarding the reopening of this important Council, still the questions that remained unsolved were not only embraced, virtually, in the two definitions issued during its sessions but that Pope Pius IX and his successors on the papal throne have all but completed the work of the Council in their Decrees and Encyclicals.

⁴Mansi, *op. cit.*, LIII, 155-158.

⁵Cf. *Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia, Pa., January, 1935.

APPENDIX I

THE OFFICIALS OF THE COUNCIL.

1. Guardians of the Council. Giovanni Colonna, Domenico Orsini, Roman Princes assisting at the Pontifical Throne.

2. Cardinal Presidents of the General Congregations. Philip Cardinal de Angelis, Antonius Cardinal de Luca, Andrew Cardinal Bizzarri, Aloisius Cardinal Bilio, Hannibal Cardinal Capalti.

3. Secretary of the Council. Joseph Fessler, Bishop of San Polten. a. Sub-secretary. Luigi Jacobini, Protonotary Apostolic. b. Assistants. Camillo Cannon Santori, Angelo Canon Jacobini.

4. Notaries. Luca Pacifico, Protonotary Apostolic, Luigi Colombo, Protonotary Apostolic; Giovanni Simeoni, Protonotary Apostolic; Luigi Pericoli, Protonotary Apostolic; Domenico Bartolini, Protonotary Apostolic. Assistant Advocates. Salvatore Palotini, Francesco Santi.

5. Examiners of Votes. Luigi Serafini, Francesco Nari. a. Auditors of the Rota. Luigi Pellegrini, Leonardo Dialti. b. Prelates of the Signature of Jutice. Carlo Cristofori, Alessandro Montani. c. Regent of the Apostolic Chancery. Frederic de Falloux du Coudray. d. Prelate Abbreviator del Parco Maggiore. Lorenzo Nina.

6. Promoters. Giovanni Baptista de Dominicis Tosti, Filippo Ralli.

7. Masters of Ceremonies. Luigi Ferrari, Prefect. Pio Marinucci, Camillo Balestra, Remigio Ricci, Guiseppe Romagnoli, Pietro Guiseppe Rinaldi-Bucci, Antonio Cataldi, Alessandro Tortoli, Augustino Accoramboni, Luigi Sinstri, Francesco Riggi, Antonio Gattoni, Raldassare Baccinetti, Cesare Togni, Rocco Massi.

8. Assigners of Places. a. Prefect, Enrico Fochi. b. Private Chamberlains. Luigi Naselli, Edmund Stonor, Paul Bastide, Luigi Pallotti. c. Honorary Chamberlains. Scipio Perilli, Gustave Gallot, Francesco Regnani, Nicholas Vorsak, Fillippo Silvestri.

THE COMMITTEES

1. *De Postulatis*. In the first General Congregation of the Council, held on Friday the tenth of December, 1869, there were published the names of the members of the Commission appointed by the Supreme Pontiff himself according to Chapter II of the Constitution, *Multiplices inter*, in the following form: a. The Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinals: Constantine Cardinal Patrizi, Camillus Cardinal de Pietro, Philip Cardinal de Angelis, Cosmo Cardinal Corsi, Sistus Cardinal Riario Sforza, Joseph Othmar, Cardinal Rauscher, Henry Cardinal de Bonnechose, Paul

Cardinal Cullen, Laurence Cardinal Barili, John Ignatius Cardinal Moreno, Raphael Cardinal Monaco la Valletta, James Cardinal Antonelli. b. The Most Reverend Fathers: Gregory Yussef, Melchite Patriarch of Antioch; Joseph Valerga, Patriarch of Jerusalem; Joseph Hippolyte Guibert, Archbishop of Tours; Alexander Ricardi de Netro, Archbishop of Turin; Mariano Barrio y Fernandez, Archbishop of Valencia; Raphael Valentine Valdiviso, Archbishop of Santiago; John Martin Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore; Francis Xavier Apuzzo, Archbishop of Sorrento; Alexander Franchi, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *i.p.i.*; Peter Gianelli, Archbishop of Sardis, *i.p.i.*; Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster; Victor August Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin; Conrad Martin, Bishop of Paderborn; Peter Jeremiah M. Celseis, Bishop of Patti (Sicily).

2. Judges of Excuses and Complaints. In the second General Congregation, held on Tuesday the fourteenth of December, 1869, there were published the names of the Fathers who had been elected by the Council as Judges of Excuses, and also those who had been elected as Judges of Complaints and Controversies. a. Judges of Excuses: Paul Melchers, Archbishop of Cologne; Beneventu Monzon y Martins, Archbishop of Grandada; Jeachim Limberti, Archbishop of Florence; John Baptist Landriot, Archbishop of Rheims; Francis Pedicina, Archbishop of Bari. b. Judges of Complaints and Controversies: Joseph Angelini, Archbishop of Corinth; Gaspar Mermillod, Bishop of Hebron; Innocent Sannibale, Bishop of Gubbio; John Rosati, Bishop of Todi; Antonio Canzi, Bishop of Cyrene.

3. The Committee, *de Fide*. In the third General Congregation, held on Monday, the twentieth of December, 1869, there were published the names of those Fathers who had been elected by a majority of votes, members of the Deputation for matters relating to Faith: a. President—Cardinal Bilio. b. Members elected: Emmanuel Garcia Gil, Archbishop of Saragossa; Louis Francis Pie, Bishop of Poitiers; Patrick Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel; Rene Francis Regnier, Archbishop of Cambray; John Simor, Archbishop of Stringonia; Andrew Ignatius Schaepman, Archbishop of Utrecht; Antonio Hassun, Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenians; Bartholomew d'Avanzo, Bishop of Calvi and Teano; Miecislaus Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesan and Posen; Francis Emilius Cugnini, Archbishop of Modena; Sebastian Dias Larangeira, Bishop of San Pedro, Rio Grande; Ignatius de Senestrey, Bishop of Ratisbon; Victor August Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin; John Martin Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore; Antonio Monescillo, Bishop of Jaen; Peter Joseph de Preux, Bishop of Brixen; Raphael Valentine Valdiviso, Archbishop of Santiago; Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster;

Frederic Maria Zinelli, Bishop of Treviso; Joseph Cardoni, Archbishop of Edessa; Walter Steins, Archbishop of Bozra; Conrad Martin, Bishop of Paderborn; Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Archbishop of San Francisco.

4. The Committee, *de Disciplina*. In the fourth General Congregation, held on Tuesday the twenty-eighth of December, 1869, there were published the names of those Fathers who had been elected by a majority of votes as members of the Committee for Matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline: a. President, Cardinal Caterini. b. Members elected: John McCloskey, Archbishop of New York; William Ullathrone, Bishop of Birmingham; John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam; Pelagius de Lavastida y Davalos, Archbishop of Mexico; Pantaleon Monserrat y Navarro, Bishop of Barcelona; Anastasius Yusto, Archbishop of Burgos; Julius Arrigoni, Archbishop of Lucci; Francis Baillargeon, Archbishop of Quebec; Paul Ballerini, Latin Patriarch of Alexandria; Claude Plantier, Bishop of Nimes; Theodore de Montpellier, Bishop of Liege; Stephen Murilley, Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva; Francis Xavier Wierzechlewski, Bishop of Lemberg, Latin Rite; George Stahl, Bishop of Wurzburg; John Ambrose Huesta, Bishop of Puno; Charles Fillion, Bishop of Le Mans; John Baptist Zwerger, Bishop of Seckau; Nicolas Sergent, Bishop of Quimper; Michael Heiss, Bishop of LaCrosse; Mariano Riccardi, Archbishop of Reggio; Leo Meurin, Bishop of Ascalon; John Guttadauro di Reburdone, Bishop of Caltanissetta; Marino Marini, Archbishop-Bishop of Orvieto; Joseph Aggarbati, Bishop of Sinigaglia.

5. The Committee, *de Ordinibus Regularibus*. In the sixth General Congregation, held on Monday, the third of January, 1870, there were published the names of the Fathers elected members of the Deputation for matters relating to the Regular Orders. a. President, Cardinal Bizzarri. b. Members elected: Francis Felix y Solano, Archbishop of Tarragona; Andrew Raess, Bishop of Strasburg; Godfrey St. Marc, Archbishop of Rennes; Ferdinand Blanco, Bishop of Avila; John Derry, Bishop of Clonfert; Joseph Benedict Dusmet, Archbishop of Catania; Felix Cantimorri, Bishop of Parma; Joseph Ignatius Checa, Archbishop of Quito; Frederic de Firstenberg, Archbishop of Olmutz; Charles Pooten, Archbishop of Antivar and Scutari; Paul Micallef, Bishop of Citta de Castello; Stephen Vincent Ryan, Bishop of Buffalo; Simon Spilatros, Bishop of Tricarico; Alexander Angelini, Archbishop of Urbino; Ignatius Mobaes Cardoso, Bishop of Faro; Francis de Leonrod, Bishop of Eichstadt; William Joseph Clifford, Bishop of Clifton; Thomas Michael Sabzano, Bishop of Tanes; John Joseph Faict, Bishop of Bruges; Maria Ephrem Garrelon, Bishop of Nemesis; Aloisius Nazari di Calabiano, Arch-

bishop of Milan; George Ebediesu Chajat, Archbishop of Amida of the Chaldees; John Thomas Ghilardi, Bishop of Mondovi.

6. The Committee, *de Missionibus et Ritibus Orientalibus*. In the twelfth General Congregation, held on Wednesday, January 19, 1870, there were published the names of the members of the Deputation for matters relating to the Oriental Rites and to the Apostolic Missions. a. President, Cardinal Barnabo. b. Members elected: Peter Bostani, Archbishop of Tyre and Sidon, Maronite; Vincent Spaccapietra, Archbishop of Smyrna; Charles Lavicerie, Archbishop of Algiers; Cyril Behman Benni, Bishop of Mossu, Syrian Rite; Ambrose Basil Abdo, Bishop of Farzul and Zahle, Melchite; Joseph Papp Szilagyi, Bishop of GranVaradin, Graeco-Rumenian Rite; Aloisius Gabriet de LaPlace, Bishop of Hadrianopolis; Aloisius Ciurcia, Archbishop of Irenopolis; Stephen Louis Charbonneaux, Bishop of Jassa; Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark; Hilarius Alcazar, Bishop of Paphos; Daniel McGettigan, Bishop of Raphoe; Joseph Plym, Bishop of Nicopolis; Melchior Nazarin, Archbishop of Mardin, Armenian Rite; Stephen Mechisedechian, Bishop of Erzeroum, Armenian Rite; Augustin George Var-Scinu, Bishop of Salamassa, Chaldean; John Lynch, Bishop of Toronto; John Marango, Bishop of Tenos and Mycone; Francis John Lanouenan, Bishop of Flaviopolis; Anthony Charles Cousseau, Bishop of Angoulome; Louis de Goesbriand, Bishop of Burlington; Joseph Valerga, Patriarch of Jerusalem; James Quinn, Bishop of Brisbane; Charles Poitier, Bishop of Roseau.

*Appointed by Brief of January 3, 1870, in place of Cardinal Reisach, deceased December 29, 1869.

Among a body of twenty-four stenographers were two from the American College: Reverend Theodore Metcalf (Boston), Peter Geyer (Dayton).

APPENDIX II

ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL

The bishops gathered in Rome for the Vatican Council lived together in groups, mostly in Religious houses or colleges, or in apartments. Eighteen of the American prelates were domiciled in the American College, some others were at the Motherhouse of the Vincentians, and others again were at St. Bridget's or St. Bartholomew's, or with the Dominicans. Those who engaged apartments contrived, with few exceptions, to live together in groups.¹

It was generally admitted that the Church of the United States had the best preachers and writers of any country where the English language was spoken. There were, probably, no younger men sitting in the Council than the bishops who represented America; at least, the youngest men at the Council were from the United States:

The superior talents of Dr. Fitzgerald of Little Rock have obtained for him the unique and almost unprecedented dignity of being raised to the episcopate at the age of thirty; Dr. Shanahan, Bishop of Harrisburg, an acute and intelligent bishop, is not yet forty years of age; and Dr. Gibbons of North Carolina is also very young.²

From January 6 to 16, 1870, a novena was preached in the Church of St. Andrew in Rome. One of the three daily sermons was in Italian and the other two were preached in Spanish, French, Polish, German and English. Among the American Fathers who preached during this novena were Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore, Bishop McGill of Richmond and Father Isaac Hecker, C.S.P., of New York:

The Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore gave an exact and brilliant description of the wondrous conquests of the Holy Catholic Church. After having accompanied her, while submitting to her vivifying sway the remotest provinces of the

¹Gibbons, *op. cit.*, I, 55.

²Cf. *The Catholic Sentinel*, Portland, Oregon, April 23, 1870.

Roman Empire, he represented her drawing, by gentle influence, uncivilized nations around the cross of Jesus. The tides of saving grace, the floods of Baptism, were sent back whence the torrents of barbarians had come. Then he followed her across the oceans when she was going to plant the tree of salvation on the shores of the new world.

Father Hecker, of New York, next ascended the pulpit. With a pure and harmonious elocution, he unfolded his views on these vital questions: What is the destiny of man? How is man to reach his destiny?

In regard to the first one, he proved that the possession of truth and happiness was the aim towards which all the exertions of man are directed. Then, answering the second question, he pointed out the true Church of God as the only power capable of satisfying the cravings of the human heart.

Bishop McGill of Richmond, Va., charmed his hearers, not only by the sweet harmony of his language, but by the sound instruction he gave on this important subject: Scripture alone being insufficient, it is necessary to follow the guidance of the divinely appointed teacher, that is the Church with whom Christ has promised to be until the consummation of time. What he intended to prove, he did prove; and I saw several Protestant gentlemen in the Church who were much satisfied with his logical reasoning. You would indeed look in vain for a flaw in the course of his deductions. He carries along persuasion and wins appreciation before one is aware of it.³

The American bishops gave a course of sermons also in the Church of Marcello, in the Corso. Archbishop Purcell delivered the opening discourse on February 12 and the following week the second of the course was preached by Bishop Whelan of Wheeling.⁴

On January 20, the American episcopate and the American College received from the Holy Father a very signal and agreeable mark of his good will. He chose the Church of the College as the place where he would pronounce a decree in the cause of the Venerable Servant of God, John Juvenal Ancina, Bishop of Saluzzo, in Northern Italy:

On January 29th the festival of St. Francis de Sales the Holy Father came to the Church of the American College. He arrived at 10 a.m., and was received by the Rector and all

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*

the American Bishops now at Rome, and by a dozen others, Irish, English, Scotch, and Italian. The bishops, all the American priests in the city, the students of the College and many Catholics from the United States and some other strangers filled the little Church.

The formal decree was read, proclaiming the decision in virtue of which we shall henceforth say "The *Venerable* John Juvenal Ancina." The Superior General of the Oratorians, to which Community he belonged, returned thanks in an eloquent and brief discourse in Latin. The Pope then, taking his theme from the life of the Venerable bishop, addressed to the prelates present a short and feeling discourse on the characters and virtues which should adorn a bishop.

The Bishop of Saluzzo, the successor in this century of the Venerable Ancina, returned thanks and all proceeded from the Church to the grand hall of the College. The cloister of the courtyard and the broad stairways and corridors were adorned with drapery, tapestry and evergreens. A splendid life size portrait of His Holiness, just painted by the American artist Healy, for the exhibition about to be opened, had been sent to the college for the occasion, and was placed in a prominent position. In the hall the Pontiff again spoke a few words, paternal and kind, and Archbishop Spalding, in the name of the American Church, clergy and laity, made an address to the Pope in Latin. The discourse was excellent in language and happy in thought. His Grace referred to the fact that Pius VI had given us our first bishop (Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore); Pius VII had multiplied dioceses, and had given us our first archiepiscopal see; and he, Pius IX, had established six other archiepiscopal sees. So that in a country where sixty years ago there was but one bishop, there are now sixty, three-fourths of whom are here in Rome to attend the General Council. Toward the end of his discourse, the good archbishop brought in a few touches of true American wit. This is what Italians would scarcely hazard on such an occasion, and it was to them unexpected. Even the Pope looked for a moment puzzled, as if he could not conjecture what was coming; but as he caught the point a smile spread over his countenance, and the smile developed into a hearty laugh.

The bishops, the superiors, and students of the college, the priests who were present, and the laity, approached to offer their homage to the Pontiff and to receive his blessing. This over, he departed, but not until he had declared that he was delighted, more than delighted, with his visit.⁵

⁵Gibbons, *op. cit.*, I, 57-63.

APPENDIX III

LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP SPALDING TO BISHOP DUPANLOUP

On April 4, 1870 Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore addressed a letter to Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, of which the following is a translation :

MY LORD :

In a letter which your lordship has just written to the Archbishop of Malines, you do me the honor for which I cannot thank you. You quote repeatedly a *Postulatum* which, in concert with many of my venerable colleagues, I deemed it my duty to present to the Council at a time when the question of Pontifical Infallibility was far from the degree of maturity at which it has now arrived. While several bishops, entirely devoted to the Holy See still doubted whether it was opportune to introduce this question, we asked, in our *Postulatum*, that it should be defined in such a manner as to obtain the concurrence of all the members of the august assembly. But your citations are so arranged as to lead your readers to suppose that we are averse, if not to the truth, at least to the opportuneness, of this definition ; and consequently, to class us with what certain journals choose to call the "Party of the opposition" in the Council.

Your lordship, it is true, does not consider our opposition in every part of your letter ; you finally throw it aside as people fling away a weapon which is no longer serviceable. This mode of action is, no doubt, flattering to us ; but it does not prevent your lordship from attempting to place us among your allies, a character which we feel compelled to repudiate. There is no justification for the effort which has been made to represent us as opposed to the plain and honest declaration of the general belief of the Church with respect to the infallibility of the Vicar of Christ. The fifth paragraph of our *rationes* expresses the faith of the subscribers on this subject in a manner which leaves no room for doubt. In our project of definition, we intimately unite the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff with the infallibility of the Church, and we propose the first as a *logical consequence and corollary of the Primacy*, in such sort that it extends as far as, and acknowledges no other limits than, the infallibility of the Church and the divinely constituted Primacy itself, which are principles of faith, fixed and determined from the very origin of Christianity.

We believe, then that this mode of definition has the advantage that it furnishes no pretext, either to theologians or the faithful, of doubting or disputing about the commands and decrees of the Sovereign Pontiff, to whose most wise sentence, by which the sheep as well as the lambs are guided, everything must be lovingly and reverently committed, as becomes children in their relations with a father.

In our *Schema*, we also quoted a most significant passage from the address presented to the Sovereign Pontiff by the five hundred bishops assembled in Rome at the centenary of St. Peter. Your lordship cannot have forgotten this address, which you helped to compose; and I ask myself, with surprise, how you can today think it inopportune to define a doctrine which, at least in substance, was so loudly proclaimed on that occasion. Finally, to remove the possibility of doubt as to our past or present belief, we quoted a decree of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, in which, adopting a sentence from the first Encyclical of Pius IX, the American episcopate declares that it recognizes no living and infallible authority, except in that Church which was built by Our Lord Jesus Christ upon Peter, Chief, Prince, and Pastor of the universal Church, to whom he promised that his faith should never fail. Is it not strange that any one should attempt to represent us as *inopportunist*s in Rome, bishops who in their own country have already promulgated such a decree?

Such, my lord, was the sole design of those who drew up the *Postulatum*, so incorrectly interpreted by you. Their intention was not to hide the light under a bushel, or to put a veil over the belief of the Church. They desired, on the contrary, to find a mode of definition which should guard this belief from every attack, and obtain for it both from pastors and people, a more unanimous adhesion. They had thought that this end might be attained by fixing the doctrine of infallibility practically and *in concreto*, rather than by affirming it in abstract formula. They proposed therefore to define:

1. That no appeal from the judgments of the Sovereign Pontiff is lawful.
2. That every Christian is bound to give to these decisions interior assent, and not merely respectful silence.
3. That Gallicanism, by separating the body of bishops from the Sovereign Pontiff, and giving to them the right to form his judgments, destroys the order established by Jesus Christ, according to which Peter is to confirm his brethren, and not to receive confirmation from them.

4. That the decisions of the Pope are not less sovereign in the declaration of dogmatic facts than in the determination of purely doctrinal questions.

Each of the four propositions here enumerated evidently implies infallibility, and it is therefore an entire misconstruction of the thought of those who solicited this solemn definition to represent them as favorable to the opinion of the inopportunists. And it must be added, my lord, that it is not my doctrine alone that your letter presents under a form so remote from the truth. In a note furnished to you, you tell us, by a learned theologian, belonging to an illustrious Order, you quote a certain number of writers as sharing your opinion, and among them you place my venerable predecessor in the See of Baltimore, the Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick. I know not what your other citations may be worth; and, if I may believe persons who have found leisure to verify them, your lordship, in accepting them blindly, has been the dupe of a too great confidence. What I can affirm is this: that it is impossible, without injustice, to attribute to Archbishop Kenrick a doctrine at variance with that of the immense majority of Catholic doctors. In his *Dogmatic Theology*, that prelate has a special article, entitled: *De Definitionibus Pontificis*, in which he is not content with declaring his belief in the infallibility of such definitions, but refutes, with a conciseness which in no way impairs the triumphant vigor of his replies, the objections which both the earlier and later Gallicans have drawn from the facts in this history of Liberius, Honorius, and other Pontiffs.

You will, no doubt, be surprised, my lord, that a learned theologian, belonging to an illustrious Order, should have allowed himself so palpable a perversion of the truth in connection with a work which we all have in our hands; and this may lead you to suspect that there is a school of falsification, quite other than that which defends Pontifical infallibility. One correction more, and I shall conclude. Your lordship turns to good account that passage of our memorial in which we express the desire that the definition of the doctrinal sovereignty of the Pope should be pronounced with perfect unanimity, *quae sane nemine, si id fieri possit, dissentiente, definiri deberet*.

The word *deberet*, which you write in capital letters, you translate by *il faut*, and you remark that this is the strict sense of the word, which does not signify, you say, *it would be desirable or preferable*; but *it must*. The signers of the memorial are thus transformed by your lordship into decided

advocates of the new theory, according to which unanimity is required for the validity of doctrinal definitions.

We earnestly protest against such an interpretation of our thoughts, and to reject it there is no need of our invoking tradition, so plainly contrary to the theory which you impute to us; nor need we trouble ourselves to prove to you that such a theory involves nothing less than the destruction of the authority of the Church; it is enough for us to appeal to grammar. Though I am far from pretending to compare myself with your lordship in the knowledge of French, I think I may venture to affirm that the indicative absolute, *il faut*, has not in that language, the sense of the Latin optative, *deberet*; especially when this optative is still further softened by various attenuating phrases, *si fieri possit*, *videtur*, etc. It seems plain to me that if we are to choose between the two translations indicated by your lordship, *it must*, or *it would be desirable*, that precisely which you reject is the one which ought to be preferred, as by far the more exact.

Such, indeed, is our thought. It seems to us most desirable and more necessary than ever in the present circumstances, that in all the acts of the Council, especially in that which is most fought against, the Catholic episcopate should present itself to the world—to believers as to unbelievers—surrounded with the glory and clothed with the strength which unanimity gives. But from the necessity of this accord, it has never entered our minds to conclude that the majority is bound to yield to the minority. We sought rather to remove the obstacles created, much less by the substance than by the form of the question, which hindered the minority from agreeing with the majority. We have reason to believe that our efforts have not been fruitless. Our project, it is true, was not accepted by the Commission, which put it aside, with all the others that had been presented, and drew up a new one. Though its adoption was not urged with the instance with which others have been pushed, the one which we composed has helped not a little to bring together several members of the Council, and to prepare the happy accord of which everything leads us to hope for the approaching consummation. We have not, indeed, succeeded, according to our earnest desire, in preventing the digging up of materials from the history of the past for scandalous discussions. Rash men have recklessly provoked these scandals, and have thus rendered useless the measures of conciliation which we had suggested. But perhaps there is no reason why we should complain very much of this. The discussion of the truth has been rendered more searching, and its complete manifestation

by the Council less difficult. Already the question of opportunity may be considered settled; and we have every reason to believe that, when the Council shall be invited to pronounce upon the doctrine itself, its decision will be fortified with that moral unanimity which we continue to regard as most useful. What is certain, my lord, is that all of us, whether we have signed the various *postulata*, or have refrained from doing so, have henceforth but two courses before us, we must place ourselves squarely either on the side of the Pope or on that of his opponents. The Catholic episcopate has long since made its choice; and the Fathers of the Vatican, by proclaiming as an article of faith the duty of never separating from the successor of St. Peter, will walk in the footsteps of their predecessors. With the grace of God, I shall never stray from glorious paths in which our young Church of America has followed up to this hour with unshaken fidelity; and it is in order to render all doubt as to my resolution in this matter impossible that I think it my duty to repudiate the false impressions which may have been made by your letter. It had been my intention to wait for the discussion in Council before making this protest; but when I saw the increasing number of writings, of a nature to disturb the faith of Christians, I considered that it became the duty of the chief pastors to prepare their flocks to accept with hearty obedience the decisions of the Council. I should regard it as the greatest misfortune of my life to have contributed in any way to encourage even one of my brethren to falter in perfect obedience to the authority of the Church. In associating me, in spite of myself, in your own struggles against a definition which has now become inevitable, your lordship burdens me with a portion of that frightful responsibility which nothing can induce me to accept, and thus imposes upon me the necessity of making a public statement of my personal conviction. But in performing this duty of conscience, I am not the less, my lord, your lordship's respectful and devoted servant,

MARTIN JOHN SPALDING¹
Archbishop of Baltimore.

¹Spalding, J. L., *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding* (New York, 1873), 397-403.

APPENDIX IV

THE SPEECH OF ARCHBISHOP BLANCHET

This letter together with the speech was sent to the Secretary of the Council:

Since this speech of mine, included with this letter and to be delivered in the Vatican Council, was never given on account of the abruptness with which the discussion was closed, I earnestly asked that it be preserved among the other documents of the Vatican Council, so that it may remain and be a witness and a monument of the faith of the bishops, clergy, and faithful of North America; a witness concerning the primacy and infallible *magisterium* of the Supreme Pontiff. I am sorry that the eminent presiding officers and the eminent and reverend Fathers never had the opportunity of discussing the above-mentioned disposition.

Your Excellency's humble servant,
FRANCIS NORBERT BLANCHET,
Oregon City.

Rome, July 17, 1870.

THE SPEECH

EMINENT PRESIDING OFFICERS, EMINENT AND REVEREND
FATHERS:

You have heard many and well-argued proofs for that important question of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. It seems to me that this Catholic doctrine is sufficiently vindicated and that the objections pitted up against it, sufficiently routed. There is no reason why I should begin to go over the same arguments or to put forth new discussions. But since the faith of Canada, where I was born, has hardly been expounded in this holy gathering, I think it advisable that something ought to be said about it. Besides it has been stated that nearly all the Bishops of the United States of America together with the clergy and faithful are hostile to the proposed definition. But I, who am the senior bishop both of British America and of the United States, am impelled by the truth, by the honor of a great territory, and by the sanctity of our office, to contradict such an assertion on the grounds that it is too general and consequently unjust to many.

First of all, I think that this ought to be said about British America. I was born and educated in French Canada. I lived in my homeland for forty years, with the exception of seven years

which I spent on the missions in New Brunswick. And there I always professed the doctrine as proposed in our *Schema*. Likewise did all the inhabitants of Canada believe, even from the very beginning of the colonies. In this entire region, where the Catholic Faith flourishes as it did in Apostolic times, all the bishops of the said districts of East Canada, of West Canada (and the Red River) even to the farthest shores of the Pacific, together with the most illustrious archbishop of Holy Church, the Archbishop of Quebec, who would testify to the same thing, if he were here; the clergy and the faithful also; all these are demanding and seeking with all their hearts and with one voice the definition about which we are talking. This doctrine was brought into these same regions, mentioned recently, by the missionaries coming from France, in the course of the seventeenth century; also by the first colonists whom Britain had sent across; and from day to day this faith became firmer in the places mentioned. The same thing must also be predicated, notwithstanding certain things that have been said, about the dispositions of the clergy and the faithful of the province of Halifax, to which belongs the district (already mentioned) of New Brunswick. There, likewise, there is no other opinion and they are all of the same desire.

Secondly, as to what I have to say about the United States of America, I will talk, particularly, about my Province of Oregon, that is, about the beloved land of my adoption, and then in a general fashion about all the Provinces of that great Republic.

When, in the year of Our Lord, 1838, I was sent into the mission of Oregon which lies between the Rocky Mountains and the great Pacific Ocean (with the help of an associate priest who is now Bishop of the Island of Vancouver), I remained working there for thirty-two years. I rejoiced in the foundation of that same new Christian community, its increase and progress. Besides, 843 *supra millesimum*, I saw the region itself erected into an Apostolic Vicariate, and three years later into an ecclesiastical Province. I know its bishops, priests, and faithful very well, and I say with all truthfulness that all believe as I believe that the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, infallibly teaches all nations.

For we believe that the supreme leader of the Church cannot make a mistake *officialiter*, because it cannot be said that God, who is just, clement and most wise, has not placed over his flock, which He redeemed through the blood of His most Beloved Son, a fallible leader, who could lead His lambs and sheep to harmful pastures or into the midst of wolves; we believe that since the mystical building of the Church is to remain to the consummation of the world, its foundation in the same manner and so long also shall stand; we believe that if Peter were not immune from error, Jesus Christ our Saviour would have imposed upon him in vain

the duty of confirming his brethren; we believe that it cannot be said without blasphemy that the only begotten Son of God prayed in vain to His Father for Peter. This is our faith, in which, throughout the whole Province of Oregon we live and are happy.

Thirdly, if we consider the general state of the Catholic religion in the above mentioned United States of America, it seems that the following must be said, namely: there are seven ecclesiastical provinces, seventy bishops, 2500 priests, and five or six million Catholics. Having seen these things, I presume to assert, before any observations not favoring the definition are made known, that in regard to the inerrancy of the Supreme Pontiff the faith of both pastor and flock is one. Even now although a few bishops seem more or less changed in their opinions, I witness to the fact that, these same few excepted, all our bishops and especially that most learned Archbishop Spalding, the illustrious head of the celebrated Church of Baltimore, the whole clergy, and all the faithful, firmly and openly profess that Christ teaches forever the whole world through the mouth of Peter when he speaks *ex cathedra*, and that the supreme judgments of the Roman Pontiffs are irreformable. Therefore with more truth it ought to be said that almost all the Catholics of our provinces, from the Atlantic seaboard, even to our own huge Pacific Ocean will immediately and with praise and submission accept the definition to be settled upon.

Fourthly, since I have given this testimony truly and with all my heart, may it be permitted to me to add that here is the manner in which that opinion about the infallibility of the head of the Church, came about among our faithful: Christian and pious mothers told their children frequently that the Pope is the successor of the Prince of the Apostles and the Vicar of Christ; that he is to be the leader of the Church to the end of the world; and that he represents God Himself upon earth; that to him were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven by Jesus Christ; that all bishops sent by the Supreme Pontiff have their jurisdiction and appointment from the same person; that the faith of the Pope when he speaks in the name of the Holy Ghost cannot fail; that his supreme commands are obligatory on the whole Christian body and that the true note of Catholic faith is to be found and approved in firm adherence to the faith of Peter.

This assiduous teaching of Christian mothers is impressed on the minds of their children and accompanies them, so to speak, through their whole lives.

The common sense of the faithful and the light of reason, relying on divine revelation, very aptly show us that an infallible

authority is necessary for the government of the Church of God, and must be admitted. The same is confirmed in the minds of the youths both through the solemn publication of Pontifical Letters, and through the mandates of the bishops concerning them, which must be received respectfully, without delay, and completely, and besides through the instructions of their pastors which are manifested in all regions of the Catholic world towards the supreme Pontiff; hence also those many alms which are laid at his feet by bishops and in other ways.

Fifthly, this full right by which the Roman Pontiff judges without error, has been recognized by the doctors of the Church, and has been preached as existing for nineteen centuries and as divinely instituted, and the very successors of Peter have with all trustworthiness exercised it. If it were not legitimate, and if it were not instituted by a divine founder, it would follow that learned men, all the saints, and that the whole Church persistently approved of an usurpation by no means justified; and this certainly, is not to be said about the immaculate bride of Christ.

The present state of the question under consideration is like the clear exposition of the above-mentioned doctrine, and its firm vindication, so that I do not hesitate to say: "The case has already long since been judged." Thus, therefore, with all their hearts do the majority of Christian people profess, and thus also the majority of priests, and the majority of the bishops of the whole world, while the supreme pastor himself gives his approval in many ways, and all these likewise openly cast the votes that would be expected of them.

Therefore, if the opinion which the head and the members hold with one mind and heart, were erroneous, the divine promises would be empty, and the gates of Hell would have prevailed against the Church. *Absit!* Has it not been said?: "My words shall not pass."

Sixthly, many of the speakers in this holy assembly have said, that through the definition about which the discussion is being carried on, the zeal of Catholics towards the Vicar of Christ would grow cold and perhaps become entirely extinct. Such an apprehension it seems to me is totally without foundation. I certainly do think, however, that if the solution so hoped for is passed by, the love and reverence which are offered to our Holy Father as a tribute by his loyal sons, perhaps will not remain the same. But if the universal infallibility of the teacher is definitely affirmed and declared, then of a truth the shepherd of the lambs and the sheep will be crowned with a new glory and will be more venerable and worthy of love in the eyes of all the faithful.

Besides, it has been said that the same definition would cause commotions in the whole world. Here we must distinguish. It

will produce certainly hatred and curses from the enemies of Holy Church, and this is not to be wondered at, since a fuller declaration of the supreme authority would not further their designs. It will produce murmurings, sorrow, and sickly stupor among some, who, retaining the name of Catholic, nevertheless, desire to show considerations for certain opinions that rule the world. But since this doctrine is a truth conquering all centuries and since it is revealed by God, its solemn proclamation of this Holy Synod, will fill with the greatest happiness forever and everywhere all those who sincerely rejoice in the name of Christian.

I can, at least, affirm this for Canada, as I have already hinted at, for the vast Republic of the United States, and for other parts of North and Central America. If, however, the Vatican Council does not accede to our wishes, a huge and unheard of sorrow will pervade the whole new continent, from the North Pole even to the Southern.

Accordingly, although I have left unmentioned very many reasons pertaining to the case in hand, and relying on the Divine testimony, and intending the glory of the Omnipotent God, and desiring the well being of the Church, I wish to express my agreement with the definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, as it is expounded in the fourth chapter of the *Schema*.

¹Mansi, *op. cit.*, Tome 52, Cols. 1047-1050.

APPENDIX V

THE "CONCIO" OF ARCHBISHOP KENRICK

ROME, JUNE 8, 1870.

MOST EMINENT PRESIDENTS; MOST EMINENT AND RIGHT
REVEREND FATHERS:

The Most Reverend, the Archbishop of Dublin, in his speech from this platform, has said some things by which my honor is sorely wounded. It was in vain that I begged permission of His Eminence the President to reply at once, at the close of his speech or at least at the close of that day's General Congregation. Therefore it is that, contrary to my previous purpose, I take the floor today to speak on the *Schema* in general that is offered for our adoption; for I had taken for granted that everything pertinent to the subject would be more fully and forcibly said by others than I could say it. I entreat your pardon, most eminent and right reverend Fathers, if I seem to weary you with a longer speech than I am wont to make. I only ask that you will grant me that liberty which (as Bossuet says) well becomes a bishop addressing bishops in Council, and having respect rather to the future than to the present, in the confidence that I will not wander from the scope of the *Schema* nor say anything which can give just offence to any one, least of all to the most eminent, the Archbishop of Dublin, to whom I acknowledge my very great obligations, to whom I have always looked up with respect, for these thirty years and more, and whom I hope and trust I shall continue to respect to my latest breath. With which preliminary words I come to the subject.

1. The observations numbered one hundred and thirty-eight in the synopsis, on which His Eminence of Dublin so severely reflects, I acknowledge to be mine. I wrote in them nothing but what I thought and (expect so far as may appear to the contrary from the present speech) nothing but what I still think. Three points thereof have been attacked in terms of special severity by the most reverend prelate.

First that I said, on page 217, that all the other apostles were designated by the same name of *foundation* which was applied to Peter; which seemed to him to impair the proof of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff deduced by the theologians from that word. The blame of this, to be sure, should not be laid on me, but on St. Paul and St. John. But that this was the furthest possible from my intention is proved by the words which I used, as follows: "The words of Christ, *Thou art Peter, etc.* . . . certainly show that a privilege was conferred by Christ on Peter above the other Apostles,

so that he should be the primary foundation of the Church; which the Church has always acknowledged, by conceding to him the primacy both of honor and of jurisdiction." I denied, indeed, that by virtue of that *word foundation* the gift of infallibility was conferred upon Peter above the other Apostles; since no mortal ever thought of claiming this privilege for the other Apostles and their successors from the mere fact that they too had been honored with the same title of *foundation*. I then showed it to be a false inference that the stability of the Church was derived from the strength of the foundation, since Christ had signified that he would provide for each of these in some other way; that is, in the words, addressed to all the Apostles, Peter with the rest: "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." It is hardly fair to say that by this line of reasoning I had either assailed or meant to assail the common arguments for the primacy derived from Christ's words: "Thou art Peter, etc." But I shall show, later, that the Most Reverent Archbishop himself, by the line of reasoning which he adopts in speaking of the other Apostles, and their successors the bishops, not only impeaches this argument for the Primacy, but utterly destroys it.

Secondly, the Archbishop of Dublin asserted, and that with emphasis, that what I had written about John xxi: 16, 17, was not true; to wit, that the words *lambs* and *sheep* which there occur in the Vulgate version, from the distinction between which, by an argument more subtle than solid, some were wont to infer that both bishops and simple believers are committed to the pastoral care of the Roman Pontiff as Peter's successor, corresponded to one and the same word, PROBATA, in the Greek text; and therefore the argument was groundless. I cannot sufficiently wonder that the Most Reverend Archbishop should have ventured to put forth such an assertion; especially, as in talking about it, he seemed to get the word PROBATA changed to PROBATA. The Greek text revised a few years since, in accordance with the oldest manuscripts, by Tischendorf, (to whom, if I remember correctly, the Pope sent a letter of approval for the work which, after vast labor, he had so successfully accomplished) shows that I was right. I have here the seventh edition, published in 1859, from which I will read the entire passage, adding to the successive answers of Christ, the Vulgate version of them,

(John 21: 15—*Boske ta arnia mou—Pasce agnos meos.*

16—*Poimaine ta probatia mou—Pasce agnos meos.*

17—*Boske ta probatia mou—Pasce oves meas.*)

so that you may plainly perceive that His Eminence of Dublin has been affected in this matter by some measure of human fallibility. Let me add, that on the arch over the Pope's throne in the Vatican, where these verses are displayed in Greek, you may read PROBATA, but not PROBATA.

In the little work *De Pontificia Infallibilitate*, almost of the same tenor as the *Observations* aforesaid, which I had printed lately at Naples by a typographical error the word *Probata* occurs instead of *Probatia*, as it was in my manuscript, and as it appears in the *Synopsis*. But, after all, it is a fact that in the Greek text of Hahn the same word *Probata* does correspond to both the words, lambs and sheep, in the place cited. But the only difference produced by the variation of reading is this : in Tischendorf's text there is nothing whatever to correspond to the word sheep ; for *Probatia* means either *little lambs* or *little sheep*, but not *sheep* at all. But in the other text, of Hahn, the word *Probata* signifies *sheep* ; notwithstanding which the author of the Vulgate version chose to make a variation, by rendering the same word *Probata* in one case by *lambs* and in the other by *sheep*.

My assertion, which the Archbishop of Dublin over and over again declared with such emphasis to be untrue, is shown to be absolutely true, whichever of the two readings is adopted. As to the Oriental versions cited by His Eminence, I do not care to speak, being satisfied to have demonstrated that truth of my assertion. But from what I shall say later it will appear that it is of trifling consequence what sense we attribute to these words, since I shall easily show that (contrary to what I had said in the *Observations*) no inference can be derived from them in support of the Infallibility, or even of the Primacy, of the Pope.

In the third place, the Most Reverend Archbishop calls me to account for what I said concerning the word *faith* in Luke xxii : 32 (I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not) that that word was never used by Our Lord to mean the systems of doctrines (in which sense alone it can afford any ground for an argument in support of Papal Infallibility), and not more than once or twice to mean that act of supernatural virtue with which we believe in God making revelation of himself. I asserted that by that word (as may be gathered from the discourses of the Lord) was almost always meant trust or *confidence*. I showed that, in the passage cited, the word had this sense and no other, holding to the rule that the customary meaning of a word is to be retained, unless the context requires a different one—and in the present case the context favors the usual meaning. The Most Reverend Archbishop said—perhaps not measuring the force of his words—that this assertion of mine smacked of the Calvinistic heresy ; in proof of which he adduced John xi : 27, the words in which Martha professes her belief in Christ, which we are compelled to understand concerning the faith in the Catholic sense of the word.

But the excellent bishop did not notice that in my *Observation* the questions was not how to define the true nature of supernatural faith as a “theological virtue,” but only as to the force of the word

faith in its customary usage in the discourse of Christ. Out of twenty-nine passages in the gospels in which the word occurs, (which may be easily seen by consulting the concordance of the Latin Bible) there are only two—Matt. xxiii: 23 (The weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith) and Luke xviii: 8 (when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?), in which the word *faith* can possibly be taken in the sense of the theological virtue of faith. All the other passages give the meaning of *trust* or *confidence* or *faith* of *miracles*. In Luke xxii: 32, (I prayed for thee that thy faith fail not) which is the passage in question, this seemed and still seems to me, to be proved to be the true meaning, both by the customary usage of the word and by the context. And the Most Reverend Archbishop has brought forward nothing in disproof of this statement.

2. I shall now proceed to show that the Archbishop of Dublin by his discourse of reasoning, has emptied the words, "Thou art Peter, etc." of all the force which theologians have commonly thought them to contain. He denies that the bishops, as successors of the Apostles, have that universal jurisdiction in the Church which the Apostles received from Christ; which indeed is true if we speak of the individual bishops outside of a General Council, but is not true if understood of the body of bishops, whether in Council or not. If the power given to the Apostles, of preaching the Gospel in the whole earth is to be restricted to themselves, although it was given by Christ to continue "to the end of the earth," it is impossible to prove that the privilege whatever it may have been, conferred upon Peter in the words, "Thou art Peter, etc." descended to his successors, the Popes. The argument, therefore, derived from the words in Matthew xvi: 18, 19, falls to the ground from the fact that the words of Christ in the twenty-eighth chapter, verses 18, 20, of the same Evangelist, receive a less literal interpretation; for the question, in both passages, is on the power belonging to the sacred ministry, and not on any sign of their divine mission, such as working miracles, speaking with tongues, or some other such gift. Either then, the whole of this power of the ministry passed to their successors, or none of it; and surely this last cannot be said. I have not, therefore, infringed upon the proof of the Primacy from the words, "Thou Art Peter, etc." on the contrary, I have explicitly acknowledged that proof. But the Archbishop, by denying that the universal jurisdiction granted to the Apostles has descended to their successors, has done that very thing himself.

I thus prove that all the ministerial privileges granted, whether to Peter or to the rest of the Apostles, have descended to their successors; making no inquiry at present what was the nature of these privileges, or what sort of evidence they are proved to have been conferred.

Whatever belongs to the sacred ministry in the Church of Christ by the institution of its Founder, must belong to it always; otherwise the Church would not be such as He instituted it. Therefore, those privileges granted to the Apostles which concern the function committed to them, are the same now as when they were first conferred. This is equally true of those which were given to all including Peter, and of that which was granted to Peter individually. On the day of the Resurrection, Christ gave commission to all the Apostles, always including Peter, in the words, "As the Father hath sent Me, even so I send you" John xx: 21; and afterward, when he was about to ascend into heaven, in the words, "Go, teach all nations," Matt. xviii: 19, 20. But these words, addressed to all, concern them, not as if spoken to them individually, but to them, as constituting a sort of College of Apostles; which is clear from the fact that Thomas, though absent when Christ appeared to the Apostles on the Resurrection day, received (as all admit) the same commission and the same power of remitting sins as the rest. This Apostolic College is constituted a moral person, which is to continue to the end of the world whose identity is no more diminished by the perpetual succession of its members, than our personal identity is affected by the constant change of the elements that compose our bodies. Thus it stands ever before men a living eye and ear witness of those things which Christ did and taught; so that it may always use the words of John (First Epistle, 1: 3,) "What we have seen and heard we now declare unto you." Whatever power then, it had at its origin it has now: divine commission ("As the Father hath sent me") and universal jurisdiction ("Go teach all nations") must be acknowledged to belong now to the Apostolic College. And if this be denied or even weakened, the whole Christian religion falls to the ground.

From which I infer that the successors of Peter and the rest of the Apostles, constituting the Apostolic College, have every power now which they had when the College was first instituted by Christ. The individual bishops, taken singly, receive, by the ordinances of the College itself, only an ordinary local jurisdiction in their several dioceses. But the bishops, taken universally, have an universal jurisdiction; not in that sense exactly that the universal jurisdiction is made up by the sum of the local jurisdictions; but that the bishops universally, whether dispersed and separated from each other, or united in a General Council, constitute the Apostolic College. Hence the words of Cyprian: "There is one episcopate, an undivided part of which is held by every bishop," receive light and a ready explanation. If the Most Reverent Archbishop of Dublin is not prepared to admit all this, at least he must confess that the several bishops united in General Council have universal jurisdiction. This jurisdiction the illustrious Archbishop of Nisibis, (Cardoni,

one of the Pope's theologians) at the end of the second volume of the French translation of his History of General Councils, tried to show, is derived by the bishops directly from the Holy Ghost, by virtue of their consecration, while he refers their local jurisdiction to the Roman Pontiff. But the school of theologians to which I adhere considers all episcopal jurisdiction to be held by the bishops by immediate derivation from Christ, but that the ordinary local restriction of it had no other origin than the ordinance of the Church, in due subordination, nevertheless, to the Roman Pontiff as the head alike of the Apostolic College and of the Universal Church. I say, therefore, that the words of Christ spoken to the Apostles lose none of their force to the successors of the Apostles; and in this I lay down nothing which tends to weaken the argument which theologians are accustomed to deduce from Matt. xvi: 18, in proof of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. This argument I now proceed to examine.

3. I beg you so far to indulge me, most eminent and reverend Fathers, as to give me your calm attention while I say things which doubtless will not be agreeable to many of you. I am not about to set forth anything heretical or savoring of heresy, (as the remarks of the Archbishop of Dublin may have led you to fear) nor anything opposed to the principles of the Faith, nor anything but what, so far as my slender abilities permit, I shall endeavor to sustain with solid argument. One thing I wish to give warning of: I speak of myself only, not for others; and I do not know but that what I am about to say may give dissatisfaction even to those with whom I take sides in the discussion of this question. If in the course of my speech, I happen to speak too sharply on any point remember and imitate the example of those leaders who were persuaded to patience by the famous saying: "Strike, but hear." I shall pay due respect to their Eminences, the moderators of the Congregation; but I will not be put down by commotions.

The Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, both in honor and in jurisdiction, in the Universal Church, I acknowledge. Primacy, I say, not domination. But that the Primacy is vested in him as the successor of Peter, all the tradition of this testimony I accept it as an absolutely certain principle and dogma of faith. But that it can be proved from the words of Scripture, by any one who would be faithful to the rule of interpretation prescribed to us in that profession of faith which we have uttered at the opening of this Council, and so often on other occasions, I deny. It is true that, following the principles of exegesis, I held the opposite view when I was writing the *Observations* which Archbishop of Dublin has attacked so sharply. But on a closer study of the subject, I judge that this interpretation must be abandoned. My reason for this change of opinion is the following:

The rule of Biblical interpretation imposed upon us is this: that the Scriptures are not to be interpreted contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. But this failing, the rule seems to lay down for us the law of following, in their interpretation of Scripture, the major number of the Fathers, that might seem to approach unanimity. Accepting this rule, we are compelled to abandon unanimity, and to adopt the usual modern exposition of the words: "On this rock will I build my Church."

In a remarkable pamphlet, printed in facsimile of manuscript, and presented to the Fathers almost two months ago, we find five different interpretations of the word *rock*, in the place cited, "the first of which declares" (I transcribe the words) "that the Church was built on Peter; and this interpretation is followed by seventeen Fathers, among them, by Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the Great, Augustine.

"The second interpretation understands from these words: 'On this *rock* will I build my Church,' that the Church was built on *all* the Apostles, whom Peter represented by virtue of the Primacy. And this opinion is followed by eight Fathers, among them Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret.

"The third interpretation asserts that the words: 'On this rock, etc.' are to be understood of the *faith* which Peter had professed, that this faith, this profession of faith, by which we believe Christ to be the Son of the living God, is the everlasting and immovable foundation of the Church. This interpretation is the weightiest of all, since it is followed by forty-four Fathers and Doctors; among them, from the East, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Theophylact; from the West, Hilary, Ambrose, Leo the Great; from Africa, Augustine.

"The fourth interpretation declares that the words: 'On this rock etc.' are to be understood of that rock which Peter had confessed, that is Christ, that the Church was built upon Christ. This interpretation is followed by sixteen Fathers and Doctors.

"The fifth interpretation of the Fathers understands by the name of the *rock*, the *faithful* themselves, who believing Christ to be the Son of God, are constituted living stones out of which the Church is built."

Thus far the author of the pamphlet aforesaid, in which may be read the words of the Fathers and Doctors whom he cites.

From this it follows, either that no argument at all, or one of the slenderest probability, is to be derived from the words: "On this rock will I build my Church," in support of the Primacy. Unless it is certain that by the rock is to be understood the apostle Peter in his own person, and not in his capacity as the chief Apostle speaking for them all, the word supplies no argument whatever, I do not say in proof of Papal Infallibility, but even in

support of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome. If we are bound to follow the majority of the Fathers in this thing, then we are bound to hold for certain that *the rock* should be understood as the faith professed by Peter, not Peter professing the faith. And here I must be allowed to bring forward a signal example of a less ingenuous interpretation, presented in the little volume lately published here at Rome, by an exceptional privilege, by the Reverend Archbishop of Edessa, which by the leave of that venerable man, I wish to speak of; for in a matter of this importance we are bound to use the plainest words, if they are but true. The book is commended by a squad of eleven eminent theologians, under the command of the learned Father Perrone to the Supreme Pontiff, by whose permission, doubtless, it is exempted from the rule which prevents the bishops from communicating their views to each other through the press, unless they are willing to make use of the press somewhere else than in Rome.

The two principal interpretations, which understand by the rock, Peter and Peter's faith, having been cited and the observation being made that the former was common before the Arian heresy, but that the other gained ground afterwards on account of the rise of the controversy on the divinity of Christ, the most reverend author proceeds with his lucubration in the following words, pp. 7 and 8:

"But it will be obvious to any one who will take the following things into consideration, how mutually consistent are both these expositions of the gospel text. For the establishment and preservation of unity, Christ sets the person of Peter and his successors in the primacy, as the centre, that all believers might be conjoined at once in unity of faith and of fellowship. But since unity consists not only in the fellowship of all believers, but especially in the oneness of faith, which is greater than fellowship, it was absolutely necessary both that the foundation of the ecclesiastical structure should be laid, and that the centre of unity should be established, not in the mere person of Peter, but also in the faith which he preached. For if the foundation of the Church were laid only in the person of Peter, and not also in the solidity of his faith, then, the faith of Peter failing, the unity of the Church would be lost, and a plurality of churches would be formed upon the variation in the profession of faith. If therefore Christ wished the Church to be one, in the unity of faith and fellowship; if, in order to the perpetual preservation of this unity, he set the person of Peter in the relation of foundation and center, it behooved him also to set Peter's solid faith, which he professed and preached, as the foundation; otherwise he would

not have attained the end which he set before himself in establishing the Church. Wherefore, since both Peter's person and the Faith which he preached are the foundation of the Church, it is clear that the same rock-like firmness which is the glory of Peter's person is also to be ascribed to his faith, lest, without it, the whole building should tumble. Therefore both expositions of these words of Christ are happily in accordance with his intention in founding the Church, and one of them serves to throw light on the other. Therefore the Fathers of the earlier centuries, applying these words to the person of Peter, not only do not exclude the second interpretation, but by implication, presume it; for, admitting the person of Peter to be the immovable foundation-rock of the whole structure of the Church, they are bound by implication to admit at the same time his faith also as standing in the same relation of foundation; since identity of faith is the foundation of the unity of the whole building. On the other hand, they who hold that Peter's faith is the rock laid by Christ for the foundation of the Church, do not exclude Peter, but only teach more explicitly in what way Peter is to be understood as the rock and foundation of the Church. Hence there are several who give both expositions, as may be seen in St. Augustine."

To say nothing of the fact that the author takes for granted, in these observations, the thing in question, namely, that Christ founded His Church on Peter's personal faith, and that a consequence of this is the infallibility of Peter's successors, I remark only on one point. Out of the passages of the Fathers which he quotes through six or seven pages, there are many which are capable of being understood either of Peter professing his faith, that is, of Peter's subjective faith, or of the faith professed by Peter, that is, of Peter's faith taken objectively. But to make his argument food for anything the author had to prove that the Fathers cited by him speak of the subjective and not the objective faith of Peter, which he has quite neglected to do.

It seems to me, after some thought upon the diversity of interpretations, that they may all be resolved into one, by taking into consideration the distinction between the foundation on which a house is built, and the foundation which is laid in the building of it. The builder of a house, especially if it is to be a great house, and to stand a long time, begins with digging down until he comes, as the phrase goes "to the live rock"; and on this he lays the foundations, that is, the first course of the building. If we admit this double meaning of foundation, all the diversity of interpretations disappears; and many passages of Scripture, which at first

might seem difficult to reconcile with each other, receive great light. The natural and primary foundation, so to speak, of the Church, is Christ, whether we consider his person, or faith in his divine nature. The architectural foundation, that laid by Christ, is the twelve Apostles, among whom Peter is eminent by virtue of the primacy. In this way we reconcile those passages of the Fathers, which understand him on this occasion (as in the instance related in John vi, after the discourse of Christ in the synagogue of Capernaum) to have answered in the name of all the Apostles, to a question addressed to them all in common; and on behalf of all to have received the reward of confession. (St. Jerome in Matt. xvi: 15, 16; St. Augustine, Enarr. in Psal. 108, n. 1; Idem, in John's Gospel, 118, n. 4; St. Ambrose in Psal. 38: s7.)

In this explanation of the word *rock*, the Primacy of Peter is guarded, as the primary ministerial foundation; and the fitness of the words of Paul and John is guarded, when they all call the Apostles by the common title of the foundation; and the truth of the expression used with such emphasis by Paul, is guarded: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus," (I Cor. iii: 2) and the adversaries of the Faith are disarmed of the weapon which they have so effectively wielded against us, when they say that the Catholics believe the Church to be built, not on Christ, but on a mortal man; and (a matter of no small account in the present discussion) the underpinning is taken out from the argument which the advocates of the infallibility of the Pope by himself alone are wont to derive from a figurative expression of doubtful meaning to prove that he received from Christ an authority not only supreme, but absolute. But whatever may be thought of this opinion of mine, it is obviously impossible to deduce from the words: "Thou art Peter, etc." a peremptory argument in proof even of the Primacy.*

As to the other words of Christ to Peter: "Feed my lambs" and "Feed my sheep," it may be said that by that threefold commission Christ showed that Peter had not fallen, by his threefold denial, from the privilege by which he had been called to partnership with the Apostles; and that this was continued to him in reward for the greater love he bore towards his Lord above the rest. As St. Augustine says: "The triple confession answers to the triple denial, so that his tongue might give no less service to his

*After the above had been sent to the printer, I happened on a passage of Paschasius Radbert, which expresses the same idea in advance of me: *Licet super eodem fundamento primus ac si caput Petrus recte positus credatur, tamen in ea petra de qua nomen sibi ex dono traxit, et super eam tota construitur, et constabatur illa coelestis Jerusalem id est, super Christum, ut firma permaneat in aeternum.* Expos. in Matt., lib. 8, ch. 16.

love than to his fear, and so that impending death should not seem to have drawn out more for him than present life." (In John, Gospel, ch. 123, n. 5.)

The argument adduced by Bellarmine, that the words: "my sheep" and "my lambs," include the whole flock of Christ, and therefore show that the power conferred by them extends to all, proves nothing at all. For they are no more general, nor do they any more express the idea of government, than those which Paul addressed to elders at Miletus collectively: "Take heed to yourselves and to *all the flock* (Vulgate: *Universo gregi*) over which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to rule (POI-MAINEIN, Vulgate, *Regere*) the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood." (Acts, 20: 28; Cf. S. Basil, *Constit. Monastic*, Ch. 22, n. 5; St. Augustine, *De Agone Christiano*, Ch. 30.)

That the words: "I have prayed for thee, etc." do not have the sense commonly attributed to them, but are to be understood of Peter's fall at the time of the passion, and his subsequent conversion, I have tried to show in my *Observations*. (The following is an extract from the *Observations* alluded to:

"Neither is there any more value as a proof of Papal Inerrancy in those words of Christ to Peter (Luke xxiii: 31, 32) in which the advocates of this opinion think to find their main argument. Considering the connection in which Christ uttered them and the words which he proceeded to address to all the Apostles, it does not appear that any gift pertaining to the government of the Church was then granted or promised to Peter, much less that the gift of inerrancy in the government of it was declared to him. It was a warning by which the Lord exhorted him to overcome the impending temptation to which he was going to be exposed, and at the same time an intimation that after his fall he should be converted and strengthen the rest of the Apostles. Christ prayed for him that his faith might not fail, that is, that he might not wholly or forever lose that trust by which thus far he had clung to Christ; and that after his fall, coming to himself again, that is, being converted, he should add courage to the rest. This Peter did after the Lord's Resurrection, when he announced the fact to the other disciples, as appears from the words, 'The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Peter.' (Luke, xxiv: 34) The words of Christ, then, are to be understood, not of faith as a body of doctrine, in which sense it is never used by the Lord; not yet of faith, the theological virtue by which we believe in God, in which sense it occurs in his discourses no more than once or twice; but of

that trust by which, thus far, he had clung to him as a Master. And if a few of the early interpreters, and the crowd of the moderns have understood these words differently, and have found them to contain the conferring upon Peter of the office of confirming in the Faith his brethren, that is, the rest of the apostles and their successors the bishops, this does not impose upon other people any necessity of abandoning the simple and literal meaning."

"This interpretation," says the author of the pamphlet printed in *facsimile*, "is one of great reputation and authority, given by forty-four Fathers and Doctors both of the most ancient and of later times." For so the words were understood through the first six centuries of the Church. The fact that they afterwards received another meaning, seems to have grown out of the common usage of ecclesiastical writers, of interpreting the words of Scripture in an accommodated sense instead of the literal meaning of Christ's words. From the fact that the Saviour, after speaking to all the Apostles, and informing them that Satan had sought them to sift them as wheat, turns then to Peter with the words: "I have prayed for *thee*," which necessarily must be understood of him alone, to the exclusion of the rest, since, after being converted, he was to strengthen the others, it is inferred that some peculiar things were promised to Peter in these words. In fact this is true, but something considerably different from the extraordinary gift commonly understood to have been promised to Peter in them.

Can it be said that Christ prayed for Peter alone, but that he provided no safeguard for the others, about to encounter so great a peril? How then does it come to pass that the others stood firm, unsustained by any extraordinary assistance, while Peter, for whom singly Christ prayed, so grievously fell? The true reason why the Saviour addressed the words to him alone seems to be this: He prayed indeed for all, as we cannot but take for granted. But to Peter he intimated, by directing his words exclusively to him (just as, after Peter's answer in verse thirty-three, he proceeded to say it more plainly in verse thirty-four) that he would deny his Master. Thus he warned him of his approaching fall, and foretold his conversion, and that by him the rest were to be confirmed. The Lord's words so understood give a clear sense. Besides the repeated warning given to Peter, they contain the prophecy of his conversion; so that when Peter, having come to himself, clearly recollected it, it left no doubt in his mind of the pardon which he should obtain, and thus saved him, it may be from despair in view of his most grievous sin.

Besides, the successive words addressed by Christ to Peter can-

not be understood of his successors without involving an extraordinary absurdity. The words: "When thou art converted," certainly refer to Peter's conversion. If the foregoing words: "I have prayed for thee," and the following, "Strengthen thy brethren," prove that the Divine assistance and the office have descended to his successors, it does not appear why the intermediate words, "when thou art converted," should not belong to them too, and in some sense be understood of them.

In saying these things, I am not greatly affected by the accusation lately levied against me, without mentioning my name, by the Right Reverend Bishop of Elphin (treading in the footsteps of the Archbishop of Dublin) when he gave vent to his grief of heart that there should be any among the bishops who would not scruple to take the texts of Holy Scripture and other citations in proof of Papal Infallibility, and interpret them in the sense accepted by heretics! "If these things," said that excellent man, "are done in the green wood, what shall be done in the dry?" My answer to him and to others is this: Following the example of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Augustine, and Vincent of Lerins, I believe that the proofs of the Catholic Faith are to be sought rather in tradition than in the interpretation of the Scriptures. "Interpretation of Scripture," says Tertullian, "is better adapted to befool the truth than to demonstrate it." Of the testimonies derived from tradition, there are some which, I think, will have to be given up; as in the phrase of Irenaeus on the superior authority which he is commonly thought to have claimed for the Roman Church. But I have taken the responsibility of this concession, alleging substantial reasons, which ought to be met not with abuse, but with the other reasons.

It has seemed to me that nice refinements upon figures of speech had better be laid aside; but I have appealed to the faith of the Councils and the Fathers, which shows that such subtleties do not agree with the ancient doctrines and practices of the Church universal, but rather contradict them. This method of reasoning is better fitted for bringing back Protestants into the bosom of the Church, than arguments the very principles of which they reject; and which although they may seem impregnable to less intelligent Catholics, nevertheless, are proved by the experience of the last three centuries to be ill-adapted for putting an end to controversies.

I close this part of my speech with a brief summing up of the argument:

We have in the Holy Scriptures perfectly clear testimonies of a commission given to all the Apostles, and of the Divine Assistance promised to all. These passages are clear, and admit no variation of meaning. We have not even one single passage of

Scripture, the meaning of which is undisputed, in which anything of the kind is promised to Peter separately from the rest. And yet the authors of the *Schema* want us to assert that to the Roman Pontiff as Peter's successor is given that power which cannot be proved by any clear evidence of Holy Scripture to have been given to Peter himself except so far as he received it in common with the other Apostles; and which being claimed for him separately from the rest, it would follow that the Divine Assistance promised to them was to be communicated only through him, although it is clear from the passage cited that it was promised to him only in the same manner and in the same terms as to all the others. I admit, indeed, that a great privilege was granted to Peter above the rest; but I am led to this conviction by the testimony, not of the Scriptures, but of all Christian antiquity. By the help of this testimony it appears that he is infallible; but on this condition, that he should use the counsel of his brethren, and should be aided by the judgment of those who are his partners in this supreme function, and should speak in their name, of whom he is head and mouth. And yet there is no one but sees how far this privilege falls short of the desires of those who, not without abuse of their opponents that stand in the old paths of the Church, desire that the papal power, great by its divine origin, and since that, in the courses of ages, enormously augmented, should be the sole power in the Church.

(In his letter to the Archbishop of Paris, dated October 24, 1865, the Pope claims for himself the ordinary power in the particular dioceses. In the *Schema, de Romano Pontifice* it is said that he has ordinary and immediate jurisdiction in the Universal Church. Since this is said without making any distinction between ordinary or episcopal power and ordinary patriarchal or primatial power, it would seem to follow that the Pope is actually ordinary or bishop of each several dioceses of the Christian world. According to the author of the book *On the Roman Curia*, who lived at Rome for fifteen years, the Pope is the exclusive ordinary of all the missions under the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, so that there is no difference between Vicars Apostolic and the titular bishops set over these missions, except that the latter are ordinary and the former extraordinary vicars of the Pope. (*Die Romische Curie*, Bangen. Muenster, 1854, page 263) After the *Concordats* have been done away with, which will not be long after the Infallibility of the Pope is established, all episcopal sees will be at the disposal of the Pope alone, *ad nutum*; and thenceforth all bishops will be vicars of the Pope, liable to be removed at his nod, *ad nutum ejus*. Thus the Church, from which civil society borrowed the form of representative government, to which it

owes the rights it has acquired, will exhibit an example of absolutism, both in doctrine and administration, carried to the highest pitch. A right reverend orator said, no long time since, that the papal power is, in government, absolute indeed, but not arbitrary; because it is always guided by reason, which evidently implies that the Pope is *impeccable*. In fact this necessarily inferred from his infallibility; for infallibility is a quality of the intellect, and the intellect is affected by the character.)

4. At the opening of his speech, the Archbishop of Dublin spoke in terms of the highest praise of an English work by my late brother, Archbishop of Baltimore, *On the Primacy of the Apostolic See*; for which I made due acknowledgments. But in the course of his speech it appeared to me that his commemoration of the dead was a reproach of the living; for he related how that thirty years ago, more or less, he learned by the reading of it, that the doings of the Sixth Council in the condemnation of Honorius were nowise opposed to the notion of Papal Infallibility. The Most Reverend, the present Archbishop of Baltimore, afterwards made honorable mention of him, and quoted somewhat from his dogmatic theology, from which it might appear that there was no difference between the opinion which he himself so stoutly defends, and that which, in my letter to him, I asserted to have been my brother's opinion. I have a few things to say to each of these bishops.

I might prefer a serious complaint against the Archbishop of Baltimore for having presented in a garbled and mutilated form, from this rostrum, the passage which has lately so often been brought before the public. My brother's complete sentence is as follows:

"On the other hand, that way of speaking is not to be approved, according to which the Pope is declared to be infallible of himself alone; for scarcely any Catholic theologian is known to have claimed for him as a private teacher the privilege of inerrancy. Neither as Pope is he alone, since to him teaching, the college of bishops gives its adhesion, which, it is plain, has always happened."

Thus far the Archbishop of Baltimore quotes. The words immediately following on these he thinks best to omit, although, as will at once be manifest, they are absolutely necessary to the full expression of the writer's meaning:

"But no orthodox writer would deny that pontifical definitions accepted by the college of bishops, whether in council or in their sees, either by subscribing decrees, or by offering no objection to them, have full force and infallible authority."

These words leave no doubt of the mind of the writer. Hereafter they should not be omitted when the previous sentence is quoted, lest a false impression of his sentiments be conveyed.

It is clear that this is no chance utterance of his opinion, from what he says in that English book of his from the reading of which his eminence, the Archbishop of Dublin testified that he had derived such great profit. I read from the work itself belonging to the library of the English College in this city. I give a closely literal Latin version, lest I weaken the force of it by being ambitious of elegance:

(The extract, as it here follows, is from the original English.)

"The personal fallibility of the Pope in his private capacity, writing or speaking, is freely conceded by the most ardent advocates of papal prerogatives, but his official infallibility *ex cathedra* is strongly affirmed by many. While some, as the French Assembly of 1682, contend that his judgment may admit of amendment, as long as it is not sustained by the assent and adhesion of the great body of bishops. Practically there is no room for difficulty, since all solemn judgments hitherto pronounced by the Pontiff have received the assent of his colleagues; and in the contingency of a new definition it should be presumed by the faithful at large that it is correct, *as long as the body of Bishops do not remonstrate or oppose it.*" (Kenrick, *Primacy of the Apostolic See*, Philadelphia, 1845, p. 357.)

5. Before proceeding to other points, I feel bound to say that I do not agree in all respects with my brother's opinion, which, I am aware, is the common opinion of theologians. The assent of the Church dispersed, as the phrase is, I consider to have a negative rather than a positive authority. The Church, whether dispersed or assembled in Council, cannot assent to any error that *contradicts* revealed truth; otherwise, the gates of hell might be said to have prevailed against it. Nevertheless, it has the Divine Assistance in *those things alone* which were taught by Christ to the apostles, all which things, that is, all revealed truth: "all things whatsoever I have told you." The Holy Spirit brought to their recollection by illuminating their minds with His own Divine Light (for this is the end to which He is given) rather than by revealing new things. In order that the Apostles and their successors may bear testimony of these things as ear-witnesses, it is necessary that they should be unable to approve, even by silence, of any opinion contradictory to them.

But when the question is on a new definition of faith, I consider that a Council which truly represents the Church universal

is of necessity required. For it is there alone that inquiry can be made, in case any doubts should arise. In certain matters only, and these only under favorable circumstances, may silence be taken for assent; but not in all matters, especially when dissent might turn out to be either useless or perilous. Take the present controversy, for example. If the Pope had thought fit to define himself as infallible in the sense of the *Schema*, there would have been no opportunity given for the great investigation which we have seen instituted, now that the Council is convened and bishops assembled, affording light and courage to each other. Very few of those who have stood out so stoutly against the new definition, in the most difficult circumstances, would have ventured to resist the Pope, or, if they had had the courage for that, would have known where to lay their hands on weapons fit and effective for the protection of their rights, so gravely imperilled.

A signal instance in proof that the silence of the Church is not, at least in all cases, to be taken for consent, is supplied by the history of the opinion concerning the power of the Roman Pontiff against realms not subject to his government. For four centuries after the Bull, *Unam Sanctam*, (Fulminated A.D. 1302) this opinion prevailed. I am not aware that any document is extant which shows that there were any remonstrances against it except on the part of persons who suffered some damage from it; and those must be considered as having demurred not so much to the power as to the exercise of it to their injury. From the fulmination of the Bull of Boniface VIII, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century for four whole centuries—this definition of the papal power seems to have been in force, and was said even by the most learned theologians of the seventeenth century to be matter of faith. I once used to think that the language of the Bull, *Unam Sanctam*, capable of being reconciled with the view I then held of Papal Infallibility. But I do not now think so. It used to seem to me a special act of Divine Providence which had kept the Pope from declaring all mankind to be subject to him in temporals, by reason of sin; but on more mature reflection I saw that this explanation was a mere subterfuge, utterly unworthy of an honest man. Words derive their meaning from the intent of the speaker and the acceptation of the hearers. No man can deny that the purpose of Boniface in that Bull was to claim for himself temporal power, and to propound this opinion to the faithful, to be held under pain of damnation. No man can deny that the words of the Bull were received in the same sense by all then living. If it was withstood by the subjects of Philip the Fair, these were extremely few in number compared to the whole of Christendom, for it was only a little part of modern France that was under his sceptre, and these few may be con-

sidered as having opposed rather the exercise of the power than its divine right. The Church then through all that period seems to have approved by its assent the Bull, *Unam Sanctam*, hardly a single bishop having objected to it.

But at the present time the opinion so solemnly enunciated in that Bull is repudiated by all, not excepting even the most ardent advocates of Papal Infallibility. I summon certainly a most unimpeachable witness in this case, namely his grace, the most reverend Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, who, in a work (of which I shall have more particular occasion to speak hereafter) printed at Baltimore in 1866, after three other editions of the same had been exhausted and this fourth edition had been issued to meet the demand of the faithful, speaks as follows :

“But the Papacy invested itself with temporal power ; and in the Middle Ages it claimed the right to depose princes, and to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance. Be it so ; what then ? Was this accession of temporal power ever viewed as an essential prerogative of the Papacy ? Or was it not considered merely as an accidental appendage, the creature of peculiar circumstances ? Are there any examples of such alleged usurpations during the first ten centuries of his history ? Has this power been exercised, or even claimed, by the Roman Pontiffs for the last three centuries ? If these two facts are undoubted, as they certainly are, then how maintain that a belief in the papacy involves a recognition of its temporal power ? The latter was never, certainly, a doctrine of the Church. If it was, where is the proof ? Where is the Church’s definition that makes it a doctrine ? [Here the author is certainly mistaken. It does not require a definition to constitute a doctrine. It is enough that there should be truth divinely revealed and propounded as such to the faithful by the ordinary *magisterium* of the Church. But that power was propounded as a doctrine by Boniface VII, when he declared that it must be held by all *sub salutis dispensio*. Furthermore, Suarez, has it for a defined doctrine.] Five leading Catholic Universities (Sorbonne, Louvaine, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca) when officially called on Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister of Great Britain (1788), solemnly and unanimously disclaimed this opinion and maintained the contrary. Did the Catholic Church, did the Popes, ever rebuke them for the disclaimer ? Do not Catholics all over the world now almost unanimously disclaim it ? and are they the less Catholic for this ? I fearlessly assert, and I do so advisedly, that there are very few Catholics at present who do not reject this opinion ; that there are still fewer who maintain

it; and that it is not defended, at least publicly, even in Rome itself." (*Lectures on the Evidences of Catholicity*; by M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Fourth edition, 1866; pp. 377, 378.)

The tacit assent of the bishops, therefore, for no less than four centuries, did not have the effect to constitute the opinion of the power of the Popes in temporals into a doctrine of the Catholic Faith, which is obvious of itself, since otherwise the rejection of it now would be equivalent to defection from the unity of the Catholic Church.

In this opinion two things are to be distinguished: The power itself, and the reason of the power. The power itself and its ground in circumstances; and for the most part it tended to the public good. The reason of the power was not, as the Popes asserted, divine authority, divinely granted to them as holding the primacy in the Church; but it originated in circumstances, by the consent of Christendom. It was recognized by public law, and was, so far, legitimate. It was vested in the Popes not because as Popes they had received it from Christ, but because there was no one else who could exercise it at that time, when the need for it arose. In ascribing it to the ordinance of God, the Popes were laboring under something of human infirmity, a fact with which it would be unjust to reproach them. That it has now fallen into desuetude is admitted by all. Few persons think of it as a thing possible to be revived; although this may not be impossible, if the Pope is to be held infallible, and if we may put confidence in the words of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Westminster in a speech delivered by him at London some years ago, before his promotion to the episcopate.

This distinguished man asserted in that speech, if I remember correctly what I read in the newspapers, and I certainly am not mistaken as to the substance of it—that the Pope, as Christ's vicerent ought to be a king; and that the fact of his having been for centuries without secular dominion was no argument against this assertion, for he had always possessed the right to it. If this is true (which I vehemently deny) it follows that the Pope possesses not only the petty domain of his Roman territory, but a sort of universal right over the whole world. Since Christ is King of Kings, the Pope, who as his representative ought to be a king (according to the Archbishop of Westminster) ought to represent him throughout the entire world. We know what a happy talent for drawing inferences, even out of figures of speech, is shown by the advocates of Papal authority. What if they have for a premise so pregnant a principle as this of the Archbishop of Westminster? It can be no more of an objection to this right

that for a number of centuries it was never claimed, than that for many centuries from the beginning it was not possessed, and even that no one dreamed of its belonging to the Pope. I refer to this not to excite prejudice against this eminent man, but in order to show him that the consequence which necessarily follows from a principle evidently erroneous the falsity of which I shall try to prove in the course of this speech, a consequence which he himself would reject, ought to make him cautious not to know more than it is worth while to know about infallibility.

For these reasons I am compelled to differ from what is at least a common way of speaking, when the question rises about defining some new doctrine of the Catholic Faith. It is my opinion that this cannot be done without a Council truly representing the Church universal.

I now return to the subject, with which after all, what I have said is by no means disconnected.

6. There is no difference, if perchance there is any, between my brother's opinion and that expressed by the Most Reverend Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, in his *History of the Reformation*, from the fifth edition of which, revised by the author and published at Baltimore in 1866, I quote the following, which I translate into Latin with the same fidelity as I did my brother's language. I premise that it had first appeared twenty-six years before, and that it was originally written in reply to the *History of the Reformation* by D'Aubigne. This book is to be found in the hands of almost all the Catholics in the United States, not only on account of the amount of information which it contains and the familiar style in which it is written but also on account of the high esteem in which the author is held among us, as the occupant of the primatial See, and as a man of wide celebrity for learning and genius. This fifth edition appeared in the same year in which he drew up, in the name of the Council of Baltimore, a letter to the Pope, from which both he and others would have it inferred that the bishops of the United States favor the designs of the infallibilists. It is contained in the library of the American College in this city, having been presented by the author, with his name in it in his own handwriting, in 1867, when he was at Rome; on which occasion he, with the other bishops, signed a letter to the Pope, surely with no intention of settling or enunciating a doctrine, but only of manifesting their own veneration and affection towards the Pope. The Archbishop of Baltimore's words are:

"In what, in fact, consists the difference between the authoritative teaching of the first body of Christ's ministers, the Apostles, and that body of pastors who by divine commission

succeeded them in the office of preaching, teaching and baptizing, and who in the discharge of these sacred duties were promised the divine assistance all days, even to the consummation of the world? And if the latter was opposed to rational liberty, why was not the former. Besides we learn for the first time, that the Roman Chancery decided on articles of faith. We had always thought that this was the exclusive province of General Councils, and when they were not in session, of the Roman Pontiffs with the consent of acquiescence of the body of bishops dispersed over the World. We had also in our simplicity believed that even these did not always decide on controverted points, but only in cases in which the teaching of revelation was clear and explicit; and that in other matters they wisely allowed a reasonable latitude of opinion. But D'Aubigne has taught us better! He would have us to believe that Roman Catholics are bound hand and foot, body and soul, and that they are not allowed even to reflect." (*History of the Reformation* by Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore; Fifth edition revised. Baltimore 1866; Vol. 1, p. 318)

It remains to say a few words of my brother's views about the case of Honorius. It is no wonder that, educated at the College of Urban, and being full of zeal for the Holy See, he should have judged him very mildly. For the case was not of any such importance before the rise of the present controversy, and therefore had not been so thoroughly cleared up as it is now. I take this opportunity to say a word of the Bishop of Rottenburg's [Hefe] opinion expressed in his profoundly learned *History of Councils*. The Archbishop of Dublin, who has perhaps acquired his information from the French translation instead of from the work itself, says that there will be some difficulty in reconciling this opinion with that which the Bishop of Rottenburg now advocates. A year ago I read the original work, and it was from that that I first learned, what my own examination has since confirmed, that the letters of Honorius to Sergius do contain some things which cannot be reconciled with sound doctrine.

7. It was with great delight that I listened to the recent speech of the Archbishop of Westminster in this assembly. I was at a loss which most to admire, the eloquence of the man, or his fiery zeal in moving, or rather commanding us to enact the new definition. The lucid arrangement of topics, the absolute felicity of diction, the singular grace of elocution, and the supreme authority and candor of mind which were resplendent in his speech, almost extorted from me the exclamation, *Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses!* And yet, while I listened, I could not help

thinking of what used to be said of the English settlers in Ireland, that they were more Irish than the Irishmen. The Most Reverend Archbishop is certainly more Catholic than any Catholic I ever knew before. He has no doubt himself of the infallibility, personal, separate, and absolute, of the Pope, and he is not willing to allow other people to have any. He declares it to be a doctrine of faith, and he does not so much demand as he does predict, that the Vatican Council shall define it as such; something perhaps in the style of those prophets who go to work to bring about the fulfilment of their own predictions. As for myself, whom the experience of well nigh sixty years, since I first began to study the rudiments of the Faith, may perhaps have been made as well informed upon this subject as one who has been numbered with the Church for some twenty years, I boldly declare that that opinion, as it lies in the *Schema* is not a doctrine of faith, and that it cannot become such by any definition whatsoever, even by the definition of a Council. We are the keepers of the Faith committed to us, not its masters. We are teachers of the faithful entrusted to our charge, in just so far as we are witnesses.

The great confusion of ideas which prevails throughout this controversy seems to me to arise from an inaccurate notion of certain terms, and from the neglect of the distinction, which should never be lost sight of, between theology as a science, and the revealed truths of which it treats, as an object of our Faith. Let me briefly explain my meaning.

All truths divinely revealed are to be believed with divine faith, which are propounded as such to the faithful by the Church, whether in Councils or through its ordinary government. Among these truths some are explicitly revealed, others implicitly. These last are to be restricted to those truths only which are necessarily connected with truths explicitly revealed, so that one who should deny the former would be held to have denied the latter also. Thus the Church in its acts of definition is always a *witness*, and formulates a judgment only by witnessing. It condemns errors which openly *contradict* doctrines explicitly deduced from such doctrines. It is the general opinion of theologians that it may happen that arguments of doubtful value shall be used in declaring the faith itself, the Councils cannot err. The reason is, that in declaring the faith, an act of which all bishops, learned and unlearned alike are capable, the Church acts as witness in *proving* the Faith, whether from reason or from Scripture, she sustains the part not so much of a witness as a theologian.

It is within the limits above enunciated that that faith divinely revealed is contained, concerning which the Church as witness is capable of pronouncing a formal judgment, and of anathematizing

gainsayers as heretics. Among these truths explicitly or implicitly revealed, those which have been defined by solemn judgments of the Church are said to belong to the Catholic Faith, in distinction from those which, although revealed, and necessary to be believed have not been enunciated or defined by decree of Council. But this distinction is merely scholastic, and implies no difference at all between the two kinds of truth, so far as respects the obligation of believing them.

Theology as a science is to be carefully distinguished from faith or the body of *credenda*. It sets forth the truths of faith in systematic order, and proves them, in its way of proving, either positively or scholastically, and deduces sundry conclusions from truths explicitly or implicitly revealed, which for distinction's sake are called theological conclusions. These conclusions, not being immediately and necessarily connected with revealed truths, so that the denial of them would be deemed a denial of those truths themselves, cannot be elevated to the rank of truths of faith, or propounded as such to the faithful at cost of their everlasting salvation. Propositions contradictory of them may be condemned as erroneous, but not as heretical.

In the Vatican Council, this distinction does not seem to have been observed. The result, a thing unknown hitherto in Councils, has been that the bishops are divided among diverse opinions, disputing, certainly not about the doctrines of faith of which they are witnesses and custodians, but about opinions of the schools. The Council chamber has been turned into a theological arena, the partisans of opposite opinions, not only on this question of the infallibility of the Pope, but on other subjects, exchanging blows back and forth with the hot temper which is more common in theologians than in bishops, and is not becoming either; for all acknowledge the Roman Pontiff, united with the body of bishops, to be infallible. Here we have a doctrine of faith. But not all acknowledge him to be infallible by himself alone; neither do all know what is meant by that formula; for different parties offer different interpretations of it. Here we have the opinions or views of the schools, about which, as is fair enough, there are all sorts of mutual contradictions.

It may be objected that by this line of argument I assail the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin by the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*; since this opinion was for centuries freely denied by many, and was afterward erected into an article of faith by the Bull aforesaid, with the consent and applause of the body of bishops, as appears from their acts and writings, many of them having been present at the pontifical definition. Speaking for myself alone, I give the following frank reply,

which perhaps will meet the approval of neither of my friends nor of others. For a fuller reply I refer to my *Observations*, in the synopsis, the sum of which is as follows:

I admit that the Blessed Virgin Mary through the singular favor of God, and in view of the merits of her Son, Jesus Christ, was kept in her conception from all guilt of Adam's sin. I do not deny that this sentiment belongs to the deposit of faith; nevertheless, I have never been able to discover it therein so far as that deposit is set forth in the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers; neither have I ever found the man who could show it to me there. The assent of the "Church dispersed" (as it is called) proves that the definition to which that assent is given is not in contradiction to any revealed truth; since as I have already remarked, the Church, whether in Council or dispersed, can tolerate nothing which contradicts the Faith. The pious opinion was always cherished among the faithful—an affection which the Church encouraged, and by the institution of the Feast of the Conception, almost sanctioned. But it never delivered it as a doctrine of faith, and Popes have strictly forbidden that the opposite opinion should be branded with the mark of heresy by its opponents. If any one should deny that it is a doctrine of the Faith, I do not see what answer could be made to him; for he would reply that the Church could not so long have tolerated an error contrary to truth divinely revealed, without seeming either ignorant of what the deposit of faith contained or tolerant of manifest error.

8. I proceed to show that the opinion of the Infallibility of the Pope in the sense of the *Schema*, whether true or false, is not a doctrine of faith, and cannot be propounded as such to the faithful, even by the definition of a Council.

Definitions of faith are not incitements to devotion, much less are they the triumphal exaltation of the opinions of schools of theology, according as one or another of these gets the upper hand. They are authoritative expositions of the doctrines of faith, generally designed to guard against the subterfuges of inovators, and they never impose upon believers a new faith.

This being settled, I say that the Infallibility of the Pope is not a doctrine of faith:

- a. It is not contained in the symbols of the faith; it is not presented as an article of faith in the Catechisms; and it is not found as such in any document of public worship. Therefore the Church has not hitherto taught it as a thing to be believed of faith; as, if it were a doc-

- trine of faith, it ought to have delivered and taught it.
- b. Not only has not the Church taught it in any public instrument, but it has suffered it to be impugned, not everywhere, but, with the possible exception of Italy, almost everywhere in the world, and that for a long time. This is proved by a witness above all impeachment, the approbation of Innocent XI, twice conferred upon Bossuet's *Exposition of the Faith*, a work in which the notion is plainly referred to in the remarks upon matters in dispute among theologians, on which opinion is free.

To speak only of the English-speaking nations, it may be observed that in no one of their symbolical or catechetical works is this opinion found set down among truths of faith.

The whole supply of books treating of faith and piety, down to the beginning of the present century, and later, has been imported into Ireland and the United States from England. In many of them the opposite opinion is given. In none of them is the opinion itself found as a matter of faith. A year ago, indeed, in England and the United States, there came out sundry books, two or three of them to my knowledge, intended to prepare men's minds to receive the opinion as belonging to the Faith. As for that one which was published in the United States, and afterwards translated into French and German, [The writer here refers to a work on the Infallibility of the Pope by the Reverend Father Weninger, S.J., of Cincinnati] written by a pious and extremely zealous but ignorant man, I may say that it abounded in such grave blunders, at least in the first edition in English, as to excite more laughter than indignation in others beside me, holding different opinions on the pending question. When I was solicited by the author to give some sort of commendation to the little book, which is measurably damaging to the bishops, I did not wish to trouble the good man with a debate, and so, in an unguarded moment, I promised him the charity of silence.

It was known, indeed, among us that the school of theologians commonly called by us *Ultramontanes*, upheld the opinion of Papal Infallibility in a sense more favorable to papal privileges than the other theologians. And that opinion, after the translation into English of the distinguished Joseph de Maistre's work on the Pope, widely prevailed among clergy and laity, and still prevails, yet not as a doctrine of faith, but as a free opinion which seems to have in its favor important reasons and weighty names. But to return to the point.

For almost two centuries there has been in use among English-speaking Catholics a little book entitled *Roman Catholic Principles in Reference to God and King*. So widely circulated is this little

book, that from 1748 to 1813 there were printed thirty-five editions of it in a separate form; besides that, being very brief, it was often appended to other works. The Very Reverend Vicar Apostolic Coppinger, in England, at the opening of the present century, had it printed twelve times over; and another Vicar Apostolic, Walmesley, a man of the highest erudition, left his written opinion of this book, commending it to his friends for its clearness and good judgment. On the present question it speaks as follows: "It is no matter of faith to believe that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from the Church, in whatever form pronounced, taken exclusively from a General Council or universal acceptance of the Church, oblige none, under pain of heresy, to an interior assent." (*Roman Catholic Principles*; Kirk's edition, Butler Historical Memoirs, vol. 4.) Appendix, p. 501.

The work is printed in full in the Appendix to Charles Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, which may be found in the library of the English College in this city.

We have with us a witness from the United States of North America, in the person of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore, who has expressed his opinion of this point, not in the historical work from which I have quoted, which is likely to meet the eye of other than Catholic readers, might seem, perhaps, to permit a more liberal explanation of the subject; but in a lecture delivered to the faithful in his own cathedral church, while he was Bishop of Louisville. To the great benefit of the Church, he collected the lectures into a volume, and published them. The volume has been often reprinted, and a copy of the fourth edition, printed at Baltimore in 1866, is preserved in the library of the American College in this city, having been presented to the library by the author, with an inscription in his own handwriting, in the year 1867, when he was here.

He delivers many admirable arguments on the infallibility of the Church; then refuting the objections commonly made against it, he says:

"Do we mean to say that even the Pope is impeccable or infallible in his private and individual capacity? No Catholic divine ever so much as dreamed of saying or thinking. Do we mean to say that the Pope, viewed in his public and official capacity, when he speaks out as the organ and visible head of the Church, is gifted with infallibility? No Catholic ever defended his infallibility, even under circumstances, unless when the matters on which he uttered his definitions were intimately connected with the doctrines of faith and morals, and when, if he should be permitted by God to fall into error, there would be danger of the whole Church being also led

astray. Those numerous and learned Catholic theologians who maintain the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in this particular case, consider it as if matter of *opinion*, though more or less certain not as one of Catholic *faith*, defined by the Church and obligatory on all. Though not an article of faith, it is, however, the general belief among Catholics; and I myself am inclined strongly to advocate its soundness, chiefly on account of the intimate connection between the Pontiff and the Church, as will be shown in a subsequent lecture. Still, it is an opinion, for all this, and no Catholic would venture to charge the great Bossuet with being wanting in orthodoxy for denying it, while he so powerfully and so eloquently established the infallibility of the Church." (*Lectures on the Evidences of Catholicity, delivered in the Cathedral of Louisville*, by M. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore, fourth edition revised and enlarged. Baltimore, 1866, pp. 262-4.)

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the scholastic distinction between doctrines of the faith and doctrines or dogmas of the Catholic faith cannot be brought in to break the force of the conclusion, derived from sources so numerous and so important, that the opinion of the infallibility of the Pope has not been delivered to the faithful as a thing to be believed with divine faith. This notion is never mentioned except when it becomes necessary to refer to it in meeting the objections of opponents, and it is always asserted that it does not belong to the Faith. It is not to be admitted that in those circumstances, men of the weightiest character, distinguished with the office of priest or bishop, would have made use of verbal quibbles which it would be hardly possible for their opponents to understand; such a quibble would be that scholastic distinction between a doctrine of the Faith and a dogma of the Catholic Faith. The Bishop of Elphin said, in reply to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, that Catholics had not denied the opinion of the infallibility of the Pope as a doctrine of faith, but had denied that it was a Dogma of the Catholic or defined Faith. If this is true, which I by no means believe, the reproach is justly and deservedly to be applied to us, that in a matter of the gravest consequences we have not been ashamed to hide our meaning by making use of scholastic distinctions.

It remains now to speak of the faith of the Church of Ireland.

In that very learned speech of his, which remains thus far unanswered, the Right Reverend Bishop of St. Augustine in North America (than whom no man in this assembly is more worthy of the respect due, at all times, and from all persons whatsoever, to the Episcopal dignity) remarked that the Irish Catholics believe

their own priests infallible, and therefore (as he asserted) it was no wonder that they should consider the Pope of Rome infallible. It seemed to some that he was using an exaggerated expression, rather in joke than in earnest.

And yet it is perfectly true, and so far from being a reproach to Irishmen it is a very great honor to them, and in the highest degree agreeable to Catholic principles. The Irish think their priests infallible because they receive them as the ministers of the Infallible Church, and therefore is in accordance with it in their sermons to the people. In just that sense and no other, although with even a greater reverence, on account of his higher rank in the hierarchy of the Church, they accept the Pope of Rome as infallible. I admit that in many respects they are inferior to other nations; but in this they yield to none, that they are most devoted to the Catholic Faith, and most loyal in their obedience to the See of Rome. In both respects that may be said of them which was inscribed by Louis XVI on the standard of some of them, who had served as mercenaries under the title of the Irish Brigade in his army and in those of his predecessors, from Louis XIV's time, that they were *semper et ubique fideles*. But that they have any intelligent knowledge of the question now under discussion, or are capable of forming an opinion about it, is too ridiculous to need refuting. This is true of the meeting lately held at Cork, of which the Bishop of Cashel spoke at the opening of his very neat speech; since it is open to doubt whether the Right Reverend Bishop of Cork himself, who was said to have presided at the meeting, understood the subject; for there are a good many in this assembly of ours who are in doubt up to this moment what is meant by Papal Infallibility, whether it is to follow the words of the *Schema*, or in preference that mitigated interpretation which the Archbishop of Malines, following the example of the Bishop of Poitiers, introduced into his explanation. For those cunning men who are the real authors of the *Schema*, I do not mean the bishops; whom I do mean will appear before long, well knew that there were many of the Fathers who would accept without being in the least startled, the mitigated explanation (which, nevertheless, had not yet been introduced into the *Schema*) and, without thinking, would vote for the definition in the form set forth in the *Schema*, at least for substance; whom perhaps a clearer statement of the sense of it would have found in the attitude of dissent from it. But to return to our own people.

The question before us is not about the faith of the people, but about the judgment of prelates and doctors. I do not deny that, at the present time, the episcopate and clergy of Ireland, with the exception of a few distinguished names, are inclined in favor of the notion of Papal Infallibility although I have had no means of find-

ing out their opinions, except what this opportunity at Rome has furnished me. But from the beginning it was not so; in evidence of which I cite the well-nigh universal approbation with which the contrary opinion was set forth in writings from the pens of the most eminent men—who seemed to be pillars, as I might say, of the Irish church—during my youth, and since, being come to manhood. I was advanced to the priesthood. These writings were edited and published repeatedly by a man of consummate learning, of still greater genius, of most fervent piety, and of a zeal for souls truly apostolic, adorned with the episcopal dignity—I mean the Right Reverend James Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and by the Reverend Arthur O’Leary, a priest of the Order of St. Francis, and seem to have had the approbation of everyone. Besides these, we have the answers of Archbishops Murray and O’Kelley of Dublin and Tuam, and of the aforesaid Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, to the questions put to them by a committee of the British Parliament, in March 1825.

All these, translated into Latin, with the original text are annexed to this speech. They leave no room for doubt what was the opinion of the Irish bishops at that time. The same will be manifest from the resolutions of the bishops of all Ireland presented to the Holy See in 1815, which, although they do not pertain to the present controversy like the answers before mentioned, do show that the opinion which is said to be now prevalent has not always obtained. (These documents may be found in full, in Latin and English at the close of Archbishop Kendrick’s speech as reprinted in the *Docu. ad Illus. Conc. Vat.*) If the matters cited from the Synod of Thurles seem to have a different sound, perhaps it happened there, as it did at the Second Synod of Baltimore, that everything was done according to the nod of the Apostolic Legate; (Cf. Appendix A, after this speech) especially as no question arose there except questions of discipline, and no occasion was afforded to say or to decree anything on the rights of the bishops, as at the assembly held in 1815, or on the enlargement, in words at least, of the authority, of the Holy See.

As to the clergy, I confidently deny that on this point they differed from the Bishops. For whence should they have derived a contrary opinion? Surely not from the seminaries in France and Spain, in which, before the founding of Maynooth College in Ireland, about the end of the last century, the majority pursued their theological studies, and from which they would have brought home with them the undoubted sentiments of those famous schools, and not others. But in Maynooth College, the theological lecturers from the beginning were almost all Frenchmen; and their treatises, for a long time after their death, were, by college ordinance, placed in the hands of the students. I was myself present at the beginning

of the change in the sentiment of that famous college, if indeed there has been a change, of which I have no knowledge except by conjecture; and along with me was the Bishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Clonfort, who was but lately here; all of us at that time walked together with one accord in that home consecrated to learning and religion. This was the occasion, to which it will perhaps not be useless to refer.

Almost forty years have passed since I there pursued the study of theology under the learned John O'Hanlon, then lecturer in theology, now professor of higher theological science in the same college. The treatise, *De Ecclesia*, by that man of venerated memory, Delahogue, one of the French *émigrés* in the time of the great Revolution, contained nothing of the Infallibility of the Pope except a thesis conceived in these or like words: "That the infallibility of the Pope is not matter of faith."

In 1831, the aforesaid lecturer on theology, O'Hanlon, of his own accord gave us the thesis. "The Pope speaking *ex cathedra* is infallible," not in order to convince us of it, but to give us the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this weighty opinion, by the reasons in favor of it, adduced various sources. If I remember rightly, he did not express his own opinion or press us to accept either side of this disputed question. I confess that I was one of those who took the affirmative. But the new and hitherto unheard of procedure did not meet the approval of all the professors, one of whom, the lecturer on Holy Scripture, who afterwards came to be president of the college, expressed his displeasure in pretty plain terms to my classmate, now Bishop of Clonfort, from whom I learned the fact. We have with us in this Council a most respected man, who used to be a theological instructor in that college for years before I entered it, who is justly and deservedly esteemed the Nestor of the Irish episcopate, since he has known well-nigh three generations of men, who to eminent learning in theology unites the fame of elegant literary culture; he was well acquainted with the prelates whom I have mentioned, and with other learned men whose names *clara et venerabilia*, are written in the hearts and the calendars of the Irish people. With singular moderation this eminent man refrained from uttering himself on this subject; so that the Archbishop of Dublin did not hesitate to speak for him and impress him into his party; while those who think with me, and had known him, and who had hoped to see him fighting in our ranks, were grieved to see him, like another Achilles, sitting apart from us. It filled me with quite unexpected delight when I heard him say that in judgments of faith the head should be joined with the body, not as the Archbishop of Westminster would have it, that the head should drag the body to itself by bearing joint testimony to the Faith once delivered to the Saints, should make unani-

mous declaration of the same. As he came down from the platform, I congratulated him with the words: "You have vindicated Ireland." If witnesses to the faith of the Irish are to be weighed, which is the fair way, instead of counted, the Most Reverend Archbishop of Tuam may well be offset, as a matter of mere testimony, against the rest of the Irish bishops, not even excepting the Archbishop of Dublin. (It made no slight impression when the gray-haired MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, rose to repudiate the pretended belief in Infallibility, not merely for himself, but for Ireland.)

The Bishop of Galway says that the Catholics in Ireland and England were admitted to equal rights with Protestants, not on account of the oath which all, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, were for years obliged to take, but because those in charge of the English government were afraid of civil war unless that concession were made. In this he spoke the truth; but it was nothing to the point; and the true cause of the truth which he uttered seemed to be quite unknown to him.

The papal power has always been excessively odious to the British government. Now if it were a doctrine of faith that the Pope is infallible, it could be shown that Protestants had understood the papal power better than English or Irish Catholics themselves. For they knew that the Popes of Rome had claimed supreme power in temporal things, and had attempted to dethrone more than one English monarch by dispensing his subjects from their oaths of allegiance.

Over and over again, the Catholics had denied, under their solemn oath that this power belonged to the Pope of Rome within the realm of England. If they had not done this, they never would have been, and never ought to have been admitted to the privilege of civil liberty. How it is possible for the faith thus pledged to the British government to be reconciled with the definition of Papal Infallibility, when it is certain that the Popes have often with great solemnity declared that the right belonged to them, and have never renounced it, those of the Irish bishops may look to, who, like myself, have taken the oath in question. It is a knot which I cannot untie. *Davus sum, non Oedipus*. Notwithstanding these things, civil liberty was granted to the Catholics by men who had fought stoutly against it all their lives long. They feared civil war, indeed, but they did not dread it in this sense, that a war of this sort could be damaging to the power of the government in any way other than as a temporary interruption of the public peace. They feared the fact of war—not the issue of it; what that would have been, no man or sense could doubt. Those illustrious men preferred rather to yield, than to triumph by the destruction of a renowned nation, and of a people who even in their errors (as they

deemed them) were worthy of a better fate. Would that the moderation of mind showed by those men might be showed by the majority of the bishops who hear me, and that foreseeing the calamities that may come forth among us out of this ill-omened controversy, they might, in this exigency that calls for the utmost moderation, avert from us who are less in number, but who represent a larger number of Catholics than our opponents, and not from us only, but from the Catholic world, calamities which cannot be anticipated without horror, and which a tardy repentance will be powerless to repair.

I have something to say now on a case of conscience. The case is this, as you know: that the bishops should be reminded that a grave sin would be committed by any bishop who should vote in the affirmative on Papal Infallibility, without having personally and, as the phrase goes, "on his own hook," made a thorough examination of the subject; when by that act a new yoke is imposed on the faithful, and the gravest inconveniences are by man thought likely to ensue from it.

The Archbishop of Westminster takes this very hardly, complaining of it as an outrage on the honor and dignity of the bishops; as if he held it impossible for bishops to err, or that they would be clear of all imputation of grave sin, if through carelessness or indolence they should neglect to form a right judgment on this business.

Can they acquiesce in an opinion which perhaps they have never weighed—following the statements of teachers in the seminaries, with the docility which is becoming in pupils towards the learned? The pamphlet by the Most Reverend Archbishop of Edessa, commended to the Pope by the eleven erudite theologians, is perhaps to be taken as setting forth such weighty reasons in proof of the Infallibility of the Pope that since no one ought to hesitate to put confidence in it, every one may safely accept its conclusions as so many truths placed beyond every chance of doubt. I am not denying the writer's learning; neither do I wish to call in question his good faith; but I can prove that in this matter he is not free from all error, and that thus far his authority is none too much to be trusted. Besides the example already alleged when I was speaking of the meaning of the text: "On this rock, etc." I mention two others: one from the testimonies of the Fathers, the other in the method of his argument.

Among the passages which he cites from the Fathers is that very common text of St. Ambrose, which I subjoin, taken from pages 31 and 32:

"On Psalm 40, No. 30, he speaks as follows: 'It is Peter himself to whom he says, (Thou art Peter, and on this rock will

I build my Church). Therefore where Peter is there is the Church; where the Church is, there is no death, but life eternal. And therefore he adds, (And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of heaven). Blessed Peter, against whom the gates of hell have not prevailed, nor the gates of heaven been closed, but who, on the contrary, has destroyed the vestibules of hell, and made clear those of heaven, who has opened heaven and shut up hell. Doubtless if where Peter is, or where his successors, the Popes, are, holding all the prerogatives of the Primacy, there the Church is, and life eternal without peril of death, then the whole building of the Church must necessarily be founded in their faith. Wherefore this must needs be indefectible, and so the gates of hell being vanquished, they themselves, embracing in the true faith all Christ's faithful, open to them the heavenly mansion.' "

This passage was cited by the Bishop of Orleans, (Dupanloup) in his first letter, as one which might be objected to his position, and he there explained it in a sense consistent with his views, having no doubt that the text of Ambrose was to be received in some other sense than the obvious one, and that, really, it meant that the Church was identified with Peter in the case of controverted points of faith, which, so far from denying, the bishop openly admitted. Among others who replied to this letter, was the learned Francesco Nardi, one of the Auditors of the Sacred Rota, and an officer of this Council. Yielding to love of truth rather than of party, he denies that the words of St. Ambrose have the meaning which the Bishop of Orleans, among others believed. I quote his words in the original Italian, so that no one may suspect that the meaning of them has been modified in translation. After giving the explanation of the Bishop of Orleans, above referred to, he adds:

Del roso il valore delle parole di S. Ambrogio (in psalm xl., *Enarr*, no. 30) non credo sia quello che indica lo illustre vescovo, e basta leggerne il contesto. Ivi trattasi della caduta di S. Pietro sanata da Christo, e come Pietro in essa rappresenti il christiano cadente, poi risorgente, per opera della Chiesa e di Cristo, senza dubbio quelle parole hanno in altro piu ampio ed alto significato, ed e che Pietro piu che contassegno, e veramente ilrappresentante dellvers Chiesa e la sua immagine vivente e operante. Non credo che S. Ambrogio in quel luogo pensasse ad altre *chiese cristiane*, e come da esse si distingue la cattolica per la presenza e governo di Pietro.— (Sulla ultima lettera di Monsignor Vescovo d'Orleans, osser-

vazioni di Monsignor Francesco Nardi, Uditore di Sacra Rota, Seconda Edizione. Napoli, 1870.)

Furthermore I do not think that the meaning of St. Ambrose's words is that attributed to them by the illustrious bishop. The context settles it. The subject there is Peter's fall restored by Christ; and since Peter represented therein the backsliding Christian afterwards recovered through the work of Christ and the Church, undoubtedly the words have another and a far wider and deeper meaning, to wit, that Peter is more than a symbol, he is an actual representative of the true Church, and its living and acting image. I do not think that St. Ambrose in that passage was thinking of *other Christian Churches*, and of how the Catholic Church is *distinguished* from them by the presence and government of Peter. (It is quite the style of Ambrose thus devoutly and elegantly to identify Peter with the Church. Cf. lib. 5, in *Lucae*, cap. 5. Also the context just preceding the place above cited.

Monsignor Nardi is right, as I find by consulting the passage in Ambrose. I beg you to observe that the passage was quoted to prove that Peter is identified with the Church, which we all admit, but not in the sense of the *Schema*. It is not quoted to prove that by the *rock* Ambrose understand the Apostle, for this is not the point in question. Unless, in the place cited, the Church is identified with Peter in the sense of the *Schema*, it affords no argument in support of the *Schema*. The same must be said of all the other quotations, not one of which explicitly gives that view, although the writer attempts, by dint of argument to extract it from them. This one example shows how dangerous it is blindly to follow others in quoting the Fathers. A striking proof of this may be found in the appendix of this speech; although it does not relate to the pending question, it gives abundant proof of my assertion, and may serve the purpose I have in view.

As an example of false inference, I take page 74, where the author tries to prove that the Council of Constance admitted that the Pope was above the Council, a question which I will not go into at present. He proves it in this fashion:

"In the conciliar epistle, addressed to the German prelates, which Martin, '*sacro approbante Concillio*,' published against the errors of Wycliffe and Huss, one of the articles set forth to be believed is this: That the Pope is the head of the Catholic Church. Therefore the Pope bears the same relation to the Church Universal and to the General Council representing it as the head bears to the body. But from the head, the body receives motion and every influence. Therefore, according to the Council of Constance itself, a General Council receives all its power of governing the Church, not immediately from

Christ, but mediately, through the Pope, the head of the Church. But this cannot be reconciled with what is said in the decree of the fourth and fifth sessions, if the latter is to be received in the sense in which it is taken by the opposition."

The fallacy of the above reasoning is this: The Pope is Christ's vice-gerent in so far as Christ has conferred on him the power of representing Him as the visible head of the faithful. But in the foregoing argument Christ is supposed to have conferred on him the entire fulness of his own power, in as much as he is the head of the Church, which is His Body; a notion which is denied by the advocates of the opposite opinion. He who exercises a delegated power is not to be considered as having the entire power of the one delegating, but only just so much as can be proved, by the documents in the case, to have been conferred upon him. The Church, therefore, may receive motion and every influence immediately from Christ himself, the true head of the body, not through the medium of the visible head, that is, the Roman Pontiff, unless it appears that Christ, in the government of His Church, has reserved nothing to himself; which is supposed, but not proved, by the author of the lucubration.

Speaking of the case of conscience, the Archbishop of Baltimore asserted that examination was no less required to vote in the negative than in the affirmative on the question of Papal Infallibility. I think he was mistaken. He refuses his consent to impose a new burden on the faithful contracts no obligations; while he who gives his consent (unless, under the force of reasons such as set aside all doubt, he should decide that the affirmative opinion is not only true, but also divinely revealed, and that it is expedient to propound it as such to the faithful to be believed) would be guilty of the most grievous sin. It is not true that by withholding his assent he affirms the four articles of the French Assembly, as the Archbishop of Baltimore says, an assertion which seemed to me and to others unworthy of so honorable a man.

And now that that famous Assembly has been mentioned, and now that an acrimonious attack has been made by one of our right reverend orators on a man of eminent learning and character on account of his refutation of a so-called history of the Assembly, suffer me to say a word of both these books, which I have not only read but carefully compared with each other. The History of the Gallican Assembly, which has been so bepraised, is in my judgment a very infamous libel, the author of which has sharpened his pen against the dead, disturbing the ashes of those who had no connection whatever with the Assembly, as well as of those who controlled and directed it.—(*Recherches Historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682*, par M. Gérin.)

That he has made many mutilated quotations, which, by failing to give the whole text, insinuate falsehood even when they do not explicitly utter it, has been proved by the Abbé Loyson. (L'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682, d'après des documents dont un grand nombre inconnues jusqu' à ce jour, par l'Abbé J. T. Loyson, Docteur et Professeur de Sorbonne.)

That learned man has exhibited these facts with the calmness of mind which is characteristic of him, and which, when compared with the temper of the other book, shows him to be a defender of truth and not an insinuator of falsehood. This accounts for the anger which he has stirred upon the part of his antagonists.

10. The Archbishop of Westminster holds infallibility to be a spiritual gift, or *charisma*. If that is true, I agree to it in the case of the person making good his claim to the gift; for in the strict sense of the word it is predicable only of a *person*. The usage has prevailed, indeed, of predicating infallibility, of the Church, but it would be better to use the word *inerrancy*. God alone is infallible. Of the Church, the most we can assert is, that it does not err in teaching the doctrines of faith which Christ has committed to its charge; because the gates of hell are not to prevail against it. Therefore infallibility absolute and complete cannot be predicated of it; and perhaps it would be better to refrain from using that word, and use the word *inerrancy* instead. But the Church's inerrancy does not seem to be a positive thing, infused into it from heaven—which could not be intelligently said of a *moral person* like the Church—although it is always so aided by the grace of the Holy Spirit that it may faithfully keep and set forth the truths which Christ had taught. For this end it has a fit means—but not at all a miraculous means—in the tradition of the particular churches of which it consists. Therefore the inerrancy, or infallibility, of the Church is not a *charisma* infused from heaven, as the Archbishop of Westminster would have it, by which it may discover and distinguish truths divinely revealed. It is nothing else, in my opinion, that the tradition of the Church divinely founded and kept by the divine indwelling, so that it shall not tolerate errors contradicting revealed truths and their immediate and necessary corollaries, nor propound to the faithful, by its supreme authority, anything that is not true.

As I was saying this, not long ago, a Catholic objected that infallibility though not a miraculous, was a supernatural gift; that is, a grace annexed to the office of Pope, by means of which, without any miraculous intervention of God he can discern true from false and revealed truth from natural.

Since the Roman Pontiff, as bishop, has no other grace of ordination than his brethren who share the same episcopal office, the supposed grace can only be a personal one. But that kind of

grace does not preserve from error those even to whom it is granted in the largest measure, as appears from the saints who in the great schism were found on both sides, although eminent in virtue and splendid with the glory of miracles. If Papal Infallibility is a personal grace of *charisma*, as the Archbishop of Westminster calls it, it demands a miraculous intervention of God, that the Pope, when he means to define anything of faith or morals, may be kept free from error.

It may be shown in another way that this novel invention of the *charisma* ought to be rejected, from the consequences which it involves. Granting that infallibility is a *charisma*, in what does it differ from that special private inspiration by which certain persons think themselves led, and which is rejected by theologians on this precise ground, that no means is granted outside of the person who considers himself to be led by the divine Spirit, by which it may be proved whether the spirit really is divine. Not one word will the Archbishop of Westminster listen to, of fixing the conditions for the exercise of the Pope's Infallibility. He asserts that he who gave the *charisma* will give the means for its due exercise, or will bring it about that such means shall be used.

Verily this is a royal road to the discovery of the truths of faith! And yet it is not without its dangers both for Pope and for Church. Once imbued with this conviction, the holier in life, the purer in purpose, the more fervent in piety, the Pope should be, the more dangerous he would prove both to himself and to the Church, which (according to this system) derives its infallibility from him; especially would this be true if he should find even one of his advisers laboring under the same illusion. What need would there be, to a Pope who accepted this notion, of the counsel of his brethren, the opinions of theologians, the investigation of the documents of the Church. Believing himself to be immediately led by the divine Spirit, and that this Spirit is communicated through him to the Church, there would be nothing to hold him back from pressing on in a course on which he had once entered. These consequences of the principle laid down by the Archbishop of Westminster prove it to be false. Nevertheless if infallibility is a *charisma*, we must be able to follow out the fact to its conclusions.

11. Among other things which utterly astounded me, it was said by the Archbishop of Westminster that by the addition made at the end of the decree, *De Fide*, passed at the third session, we had already admitted the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, at least by implication, and that we were no longer free to recede from it. (The addition was as follows: "Since it is not enough to avoid heretical pravity, unless at the same time these errors are deligently avoided which more or less tend to it, we warn all persons of the duty of

observing also the constitutions and decrees in which such erroneous opinions, which themselves are not expressly enumerated, have been prescribed and prohibited by this Holy See.”)

If I rightly understand the right reverend relator of the committee, who when this addition had once been moved in the General Congregation, then withdrawn, and finally, while we were wondering what the matter was, suddenly moved a second time, he said, in plain terms, that no doctrine at all was taught by it, but that it was placed at the end of the four chapters of which the decree was composed, in order to round them off handsomely; (*Imponi tanquam eis coronidem convenientem*) and that it was rather disciplinary than doctrinal in its character. Either he was deceived, if what the Archbishop of Westminster said was true; or else he intentionally led us into error, which we are hardly at liberty to suppose of so honorable a man. However, it may have been, many of the bishops, confiding in his assurance, decided not to refuse their suffrages to the decree on account of that clause; while others, of whom I was one, were afraid that there was a trap set, and yielded reluctantly on this point to the will of others.

In saying all this, it is not my intention to accuse any of the right reverend Fathers of bad faith. I treat them all, as is meet, with due reverence. But it is said that we have among us, outside of the Council certain *religious* men—who are perhaps *pious* as well as *religious*—who relying on trickery than on fair measures, have brought the interests of the Church into that extreme peril from which it has risen; who at the beginning of the Council managed to have no one appointed on the committees of the Council but those who were known or believed to be in favor of their schemes; who, following hard in the footsteps of certain of their predecessors, in the *schemata* that have been proposed to us, and which have come out of their own workshop, seem to have had nothing so much at heart as the depreciation of the authority of the bishops and the exaltation of the authority of the Pope; and seem disposed to impose upon the unwary with twists and turns of expression, which may be differently explained by different persons. These are the men who have blown up this conflagration in the Church; and they do not cease to fan the flame by spreading among the people their writings, which put on the outward show of piety, but are destitute of its reality.

With more zeal than knowledge, these excellent men would like to cover up the design of the Divine Architect with another and, as they may think, a better and stronger one. For He had consulted at once for the unity of the whole, and the liberty of every part; nor had he conferred the entire fullness of his own power on the vicar appointed by himself; knowing what was in man, and not

wishing that any one should have lordship over the clergy, that is, his *portion*, the Church.

Already in vain the petition has been offered that this painful controversy might not be started in the Council. Equally in vain the petition has been urged that there might be no definition until after an examination which should leave no room for doubt as to the testimony of tradition on this point. In order to such an examination, the request was presented, nearly three months ago, to their eminences the presidents of the General Congregations in a petition from prelates of distinguished sees, that there might be a committee of Fathers, taken in equal numbers from each party, and appointed by the votes of those agreeing with them in opinion. This request was repeated over again by others in the General Congregation; and is said to have had the approval of some even of the advocates of Papal Infallibility. For the question is one which calls for an investigation of the records of the entire Church, and should be dealt with in a calm rather than an excited temper. The Archbishop of Dublin says, indeed, that such an examination would last too long, that it would reach till the day of judgment. If this be so it were better to refrain from making any definition at all, than to frame one prematurely. But it is said the honor and authority of the Holy See demand a definition, nor can it be deferred without injury to both. I answer in the words of Jerome, substituting another word for the well-known word, *auctoritas*. "It is better to save the world than the city."

I have done.

The foregoing speech is recorded in Mansi, *Collectio Conciliorum*, Tome 52, Cols. 453-481.

Speech of Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis, in the United States of North America, 1870. De Angelis Brothers Printers, 4 Via Pellegrini, Naples. United States of North America, 1870, De Angelis Brothers.

The reason why this speech was not delivered, although prepared for that purpose, is this, that on the third day of June, at the close of the General Congregation, a stop was unexpectedly put to the general discussion on the first Schema concerning the Church of Christ. Among forty bishops, more or less, who had entered their names as desiring to be heard, was the writer of the following. He has deemed best that his divine right of expressing his views on this momentous business to his fellow-bishops, and to others who are entitled to an interest in the Council, should be exercised through the press. But he has retained the form of a speech, and some matters that would be pertinent only in a spoken discourse.

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JAMES KERRIGAN, MERCHANT

BY SARA M. MURPHY

In 1852 Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, secured for work in his diocese a Community of the Religious missionary Congregation of the Passion, founded in Italy by St. Paul of the Cross. They landed in Philadelphia on November 14 of that year, Fathers Anthony Calandri, Albinus Magnus, Stanislaus Parezyki and Brother Lawrence Di Giacomo.¹

In their distinctive work of giving missions and retreats they proved an immediate success, and in April 1860, a second foundation was made at Bishop Timon's request at Dunkirk, New York, with equally satisfactory results.

Bishop Hughes of New York, whose jurisdiction then extended over New Jersey also, in 1851, sent the Rev. Anthony Cauvin across the Hudson to found a parish² in the small town of Hoboken and its adjoining territory which extended from Fort Lee to Bergen and all between the Hackensack and Hudson rivers. As the settlement at West Hoboken, the commencement of the Palisades, seemed the center of the mission Father Cauvin started to build a church there and land for that purpose was given him by James Kerrigan, a New York merchant who had his country villa with a large tract of land in that section. It is interesting to note that Mr. Kerrigan, who was an intimate friend of Bishop Hughes, later, when it was decided to move St. Joseph's Seminary

¹*The Passionists in New Jersey, 1861-1936.* A souvenir pamphlet of the Diamond Jubilee and the rededication of St. Michael's Church, published by the Monastery, 1936.

²The Rev. Anthony Cauvin was born of a well-to-do family near Nice, France, August 23, 1810. He was ordained priest October 12, 1834. Two of his brothers also were priests. He came to New York in 1847 and was attached for three years to the Church of St. Vincent de Paul, then in Canal Street. Next he was stationed at the Mission at Cold Spring-on-the-Hudson, the assignment to the Hoboken parish followed this after a year. For nearly three-quarters of a century he labored here with splendid results, until July 1873, when he resigned and went back to his native land. He died at Nice, May 26, 1902, in his ninety-third year and the sixty-eighth of his priesthood. In 1874 in the parish church of his native town the three brothers, the eldest brother Dom Sixte eighty-two, were the celebrants of a high Mass; Dom Eugène seventy the deacon and he himself sixty-four the sub-deacon.—Peter Condon "Rev. Anthony Cauvin"; RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. III.

from Fordham, offered to give land here also for a new seminary. His generous offer, however, was not accepted and Mount Ida, the Methodist college at Troy, New York, was bought and dedicated as the new seminary on December 1, 1864.³

The new frame church at West Hoboken was dedicated by Bishop Hughes to Our Lady of Mercy, November 23, 1851, and during its construction Mass was said for the little congregation in a temporary chapel fitted up in Mr. Kerrigan's barn. In April 1861 Father Cauvin by permission of Bishop Bayley, the Diocese of Newark having been established in 1853, had a Community of Passionists come from Pittsburgh to take charge of the parish and found a monastery of their Congregation with Father John Baudinelli as the first pastor. Twenty acres were next purchased from Mr. Kerrigan on which to build the proposed monastery, the cornerstone of which was laid in August 1863. The main part was completed and dedicated to St. Michael on September 25, 1864, the first Community comprising nine priests, seven students and five Brothers. In 1869 it was determined to build an elaborate monastery church and this was finished and dedicated to St. Michael on July 4, 1875. It was one of the largest and most ornate structures of its kind in the country.⁴ A disastrous fire destroyed this edifice on May 31, 1934, but steps were taken at once to rebuild it. The dedication of the restored building, even more attractive and elaborate in detail than the original, and the commemoration of the diamond jubilee of the Passionist Fathers in the Diocese of Newark, took place with splendid ceremonies on September 29, 1936.⁵

James Kerrigan, whose generosity contributed so much to the attainment of these results, was a prosperous merchant of New York City who had made a fortune in leather, in that district of the east side of New York City known to old inhabitants as "The Swamp." In the leather trade there is still a product known as "Kerrigan Morocco." He was born in 1789, the son of Patrick Kerrigan of Meencargagh, Stranorlar, County Donegal, Ireland.

³Scanlan, Rev. Arthur J., S.T.D., *St. Joseph's Seminary*, Monograph Series VII. United States Catholic Historical Society, 1922.

⁴*Passionists in New Jersey*, *op. cit.*; Flynn, Joseph M., *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 1904.

⁵*Idem.*

The paternal farm was two hundred acres, and it was this comfortable home he left in his teens to come to the United States. His mother had died, and eventually his father married again. He felt too keenly seeing his mother's place filled by another; so he fared forth, by sailing vessel, to try his fortune, landing in New York City with only five dollars in his pocket. He seems to have succeeded from the first, though details of the early years are vague. "I never knew the day," he was wont to say, "when I called myself poor." When he married, May 4, 1817, he was already owner of his own factory. His wife was Eleanor Cecilia, daughter of James MacLaughlin of Philadelphia, whose armorial bearings carry the definitive description "of the senior branch of the Race of Owen of Ulster."

The Kerrigans lived at 127 East Broadway, New York, and had twelve children: Sarah, born in 1818, who survived all the family, attaining the venerable age of eighty-six years; Maurice B., who married Margaret Honeywell; Eleanor C., who died at twenty-one; James, Jr., who married a Miss Lefevre and lived in Baltimore; Catherine T., who married H. H. Perkins, and lived much of her life in West Hoboken, New Jersey; Philip Patrick, who married and lived in Chicago; Thomas, who married and lived in New York; Doctor Joseph Ambrose, who was chief of the surgical staff of St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, lived in West Twelfth Street, and married Margaret Devlin, daughter of Daniel Devlin; Michael Hillary, who was a medical student and died young; Margaret E., who also died young; Annie Teresa, who became Mrs. Henry Van Beuren; and William Quarter, also a medical student, who married Etta B. Smith, a convert to the Faith.

During this period, James Kerrigan seems to have been busy amassing his fortune. He was industrious and thrifty in acquiring money; but generous to a fault in spending it. A story of the early years that he loved to retell to his children, he called the "miracle of St. Joseph." Upon one occasion when his business was in straits, and he knew not where to find the Saturday payroll for his workers, he and his wife made a special plea to St. Joseph for help. Saturday noon came and with it a stranger appeared, who ordered just as many hides as would cover the

cost of the payroll; paid cash, and left, taking the hides away with him. He was never heard from after, and James Kerrigan and his wife were grateful. They felt that St. Joseph had intervened in their behalf.

In 1832, the great cholera epidemic ravaged New York. James Kerrigan moved his family down to Staten Island for safety. He came into the City himself every day and often recalled how he would walk up one street and down another, retracing his steps and turning corners to avoid a cholera funeral. His daughter, Sarah, in her later years, could recall having been taken as a child to see the decorations all over the City in honor of the visit of General Lafayette; of having heard Jenny Lind sing; and of the horrors of the great fire in 1835.

The heights of the Palisades across the Hudson River from New York City offered a superb site for a summer home, and it was here that, in the forties, Mr. Kerrigan bought several hundred acres and built the stately house which for long years was known as the Kerrigan homestead. At Miss Sarah's death in 1904, the house and the immediately surrounding property were bequeathed to the Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception for the maintenance of an orphan home, to be known as the Kerrigan Roman Catholic Orphanage. The old homestead no longer exists, having been replaced by a brick building (327 Central Avenue, Union City).

The house contained a private chapel, and here Sunday Mass was said for the family by visiting priests from New York in the days before there was a local church. Bishop John Dubois, of New York, had obtained for Mr. and Mrs. Kerrigan the privilege of a private chapel, and this was extended for Miss Sarah throughout her life. Stations of the Cross were another privilege accorded the chapel. Bishop Dubois gave the altar stone; Father William Quarter,⁶ the chalice; and there was a complete equip-

⁶Father William Quarter was pastor of St. Mary's Church, Grand Street, New York, when he was consecrated the first Bishop of Chicago, March 10, 1844. He died there April 10, 1848. His brother, Walter J., was Vicar General of Chicago, but after his brother's death returned to New York and died pastor of St. Lawrence's Church, Eighty-fourth Street (now St. Ignatius), December 15, 1863. Both made their studies at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg.—RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. II; the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article "Chicago, Archdiocese of."

ment of vestments and linens, all of which were bequeathed by Miss Sarah to the Franciscan Sisters.

It was a beautiful country suburb at that period, sparsely settled, with an unsurpassed view over the noble Hudson of New York City, which was in those days little more than an overgrown town. The Kerrigan property extended, with few exceptions, from what is now Hudson Boulevard to Palisade Avenue, and from Hill Street (now Thirteenth) to a little north of St. Michael's Monastery. There were rolling pasture lands and fruit orchards. The entrance gates to the Kerrigan land were on High Street (now Fifteenth) just west of St. Mary's Church (the popular name). Trees, still standing, marked the road to the homestead. The writer remembers a pasture gate on Charles Street (now Sixteenth) about one hundred feet west of West Street, and running north of this was a stone wall and a hedge of hawthorne; with its white blossoms and thorns we were well acquainted as children. Stone walls and hedges defined all the property. The hawthorne had come originally from Mr. Kerrigan's home in Ireland. An apple orchard lay near the homestead (between what is now Fifteenth and Sixteenth Streets, and Central and Summit Avenues), and down its slopes we tobogganed in winter. A little skating pond lay somewhat southeast of this.

When the Kerrigan lands were divided in the early '80s, the writer's home was one of these divisions. On the property there stood a natural summer-house, formed of four trees, between which seats and backs of wood had been nailed. These trees bore the usual initials, hearts and arrows, mementos of bygone Kerrigans. They brought us curious reveries of the young people who had spent happy Summers there. One who sang in the choir of old St. Mary's in early days, tells of the stir caused by the annual arrival of the Kerrigans in Summer. Great was the distraction on the first Sunday the family appeared at church. There was stretching of necks to see what sophistication in styles had been brought from the metropolis to the quiet countryside. Often the writer plied Miss Sarah with eager questions of their life in those days (questions propounded at the end of a black speaking tube; for Miss Sarah was then nearly eighty and very deaf), and in her thin, high voice she would tell of their sports, their drives and horseback rides through the country.

For long years, Miss Sarah was a familiar figure at daily Mass at St. Michael's Monastery with her snowy hair and dignified black garments. She was usually accompanied by her sister, Mrs. Perkins, or a niece, or a servant, and always in her pew far up on the right side of the centre aisle. She was a daily Communicant at a time when daily Communion was rare.

She seemed to have formed a habit in her youth of committing to her journal events of interest to the family, and one such account, of the dedication of old St. Mary's remains today, penned in her delicate angular hand:

The Church of Our Lady of Mercy, West Hoboken, N. J., was consecrated to the service of the Almighty on the 23rd of November, 1851, by the Rev. Mr. Lafort, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Quin and Cauvin. The Most Rev. Dr. Hughes preached upon the occasion to a large number of people.

The Sunday School commenced in December, the average number of children about thirty every Sunday.

James Kerrigan gave five lots of ground, also five hundred dollars towards the erection of said church.

Rev. A. Cauvin, a native of France, is the pastor—the first pastor—it was he who built it.

It will be noted that this account tells of a gift of five hundred dollars toward the building of the church, which is not in the other records. It may have been included in that sum of nearly two thousand dollars which Father Cauvin collected among his friends.

A few years later, the Kerrigan family donated the land on which the present parish school of St. Mary's stands, across the avenue from the site of the old St. Mary's Church, now the High School. In 1861, the Passionist Fathers purchased from James Kerrigan twenty acres of land on which St. Michael's now stands. Years afterward, there was discontent expressed by some of the Fathers because a portion of the land was of a swampy character, but it has been maintained by the Kerrigan family that the Fathers who chose it had been taken over all Mr. Kerrigan's holdings and were permitted to choose their own location.

In the '70s, four large houses were built by various members of the family on the four corners of High (Fifteenth) and Springs Streets, and here they made their homes for many years.

Another house, interwoven in the history of that time, was the home of Mr. and Mrs. Alphonse Antoine, at Traphagen (Fourteenth), Morris and Hill (Thirteenth) Streets, now the Dominican Convent of the Precious Blood, known as the Blue Chapel. In those days there was an Old World garden there: flowers, fruit trees, vegetables, small fruits—even kennels. There the young people forgathered for tennis and croquet, garden parties, cherry picking from the great ox-heart trees, and playing at house in the woods with a real cook-stove. The daughters of William Quarter Kerrigan, Blanche and Eleanor, who had been orphaned at an early age, made their home with their Aunt Sarah, and formed part of this group of young people. Blanche afterward married Lucien, son of Mrs. Antoine. The family were cousins to Chanoine Mimil of Rheims Cathedral in France.

Throughout the years the Kerrigan family was represented in the Monastery by many rich gifts: a great stained glass window, from Miss Sarah; followed by another, when the church was re-decorated; the altar of the Holy Face, from Mrs. Perkins; and the Stations of the Cross in Carrara marble, each one in memory of a member of the family.

It was natural that so loyal a Catholic layman as James Kerrigan should have close friendships among the hierarchy of his time. The family were on terms of intimacy with Bishop John Dubois, and afterward with Archbishop John Hughes of New York, Bishop F. N. Blanchet of Oregon, Rev. William Quarter (afterward first Bishop of Chicago), his brother, Rev. Walter J. Quarter, Rev. Dr. Charles Constantine Pise, Rev. John Power of St. Peter's in Barclay Street, and many other great churchmen.

The youngest Kerrigan child was born in 1842. Bishop Dubois and Father Quarter came to see the mother and babe. "What are you going to call him?" asked Bishop Dubois, who at that time was ageing and deaf. "John, after you," boomed Father Quarter, though they both knew that it had been determined that the baby should be William Quarter. Before the visit, Bishop Dubois had been enticed by Father Quarter to a jeweler's, to help select a memento for the baby. A rattle it was, of ivory and mother of pearl, treasured in the family to this day.

The second son, James, Jr., studied for the priesthood at Mount

St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Maryland. A letter remains, addressed to his sister, Eleanor, on the occasion of the birth of William Quarter Kerrigan:

March 12th, 1842.

My dearest sister Ellen:

Your very affectionate letter was duly received, and late last evening I received Sarah's of the 7th inst. My mind, until the receipt of your letters, had been very anxious, but now I feel more contented, and I trust that Mother is quite well (and Father also). Of course, you are all happy and delighted, with the addition of another to our numerous and happy family. May God spare him if it is His Holy Will, that he may grow up the delight and comfort of *all*. I am glad that *he looks like me*, because when you look at his smiling little face, you can ejaculate a prayer in your mind for *him* whom he resembles.

I mentioned in Sarah's letter about the celebration of the 10th of May next at the College. Great preparations are now being made, and it will be one of the greatest celebrations ever known in this part of the country. I expect crowds will be here from every quarter, and the sight and ceremonies will be well worthy of a visit from any distance. . . . The Rifle Company (the students of the College) will parade publicly. Grand Solemn Mass will be celebrated, and an oration will be delivered by Mr. McCaffrey, the President; and in the evening a grand concert by the St. Cecilia Society. It will indeed be a great day, and I expect to have much pleasure on it, as I have promised myself so much pleasure and delight from the company of *my dear sisters* and parents. If you do not come I will be very lonesome indeed, as the day will be so public that everyone will seek his own amusement and consequently, if you are not here I will be all alone. Mr. Quarter, Bishop Dubois, Dr. Pise,⁷ and as many of the old mountaineers as possible must come on that day. Write to me immediately and let me know when you will come so that I can make arrangements for your rooms in time before they are all engaged by the crowd that is expected. So don't delay, and write and tell me the glad news that you are coming. The trip would do Father, Mother,

⁷Rev. Dr. Charles Constantine Pise was one of the most brilliant orators and writers of the Church in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. He was Chaplain of the United States Senate 1832 and came to New York in 1834. He ministered as pastor at St. Joseph's and St. Peter's, New York, and St. Charles Borromeo's in Brooklyn where he died March 26, 1866.—RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. II; Vol. XIX; Vol. XX.

Sarah, Ellen, Maurice and his Margaret, and *my little Maggy*, Kate and all, an immensity of good. At all events, let some come then, and the rest come at Commencement *to take the others home*. Isn't this a good plan?

James seems to have changed his mind about his vocation, for some time later on we find him creating great consternation in the family. He met a young woman in Baltimore, while teaching Sunday school, fell in love, and married her suddenly without apprising the family. A story, exemplifying Sarah's directness and lack of tact, is told of the Thanksgiving Day on which the family were gathered about in the upstairs sitting room of the East Broadway house, awaiting the arrival of student James from the Emmitsburg Seminary to eat the Thanksgiving turkey with them. The door-bell rang. It was the Reverend —— of Mount St. Mary's, arriving to break the news of James' defection. A maid summoned Miss Sarah downstairs. Father —— had decided to tell her the sad news first, and use her as an intermediary to break the shock for the good parents. Miss Sarah returned upstairs and announced briefly: "Well, we may as well have dinner. Father —— is here, and James is not coming, he's married."

Miss Sarah leaves among her meticulous notes an account of Bishop Quarter's consecration and the beginnings of the Chicago Diocese. It seems fantastic to us who look upon the great Archdiocese of today:

Rev. William Quarter, pastor of St. Mary's Church, corner of Grand and Ridge Streets, New York, was, on the tenth of March 1844, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, consecrated Bishop of Chicago, Illinois. The 15th of April, 1844, he left New York for his diocese, amidst the tears and lamentations of numerous friends. The 8th of May, the Right Rev. gentleman arrived in Chicago, accompanied by his brother, Rev. Walter J. Quarter. The people rejoiced to see them, and the Bishop met with a cordial reception from all parties.

The Bishop soon found that our holy religion was not flourishing. This he attributed to want of both clergymen and church, there being at the time only one church in the City, and that not finished; and the number of priests very small.

The Bishop resolved, with the help of God, to remedy these

evils. Consequently, he immediately opened a seminary for the reception of young men as candidates for Holy Orders. In this he succeeded, for the applicants were numerous, and of course a large number were ordained.

The house used for this purpose being found inadequate to their wants, the Bishop, ever alert for his flock, resolved to build an University which would be sufficiently large for seminarians and a good number of students. Accordingly, the foundation was laid the same year, 1844, the plan and design of the building beautifully engraved, and to crown all, a bill, begging a Charter, was presented to the Assembly at Springfield, the seat of government. The bill was passed, the institution was forthwith endowed with all the privileges of an University, and is called University of St. Mary's of the Lake. All this was very gratifying to the Bishop, but he looked around in vain for the means wherewith to erect this University. He thought of New York, knew its Catholic wealth and power, and concluded to make his New York Christian brethren participators in this glorious act.

The Bishop arrived in New York for that purpose the 2nd of May, 1845, worn much by the fatigue and anxiety of the preceding year. We were very sorry to look upon his whitened hair, sunken eye, and hollow cheek, for they were so many indications of the trials that he had undergone. But he soon recruited, and soon our sorrow gave place to admiration for the powerful energetic man before us, who threw aside every obstacle in his path to attain his end. He seemed to ever keep University of St. Mary's of the Lake in his mind's eye.

For almost three months, he preached every Sunday in one of the New York churches; at every church a collection was raised for Chicago. Sometimes he would preach twice; and indeed on one occasion he preached three times a day. By this means he collected nearly three thousand dollars, a handsome sum to commence with.

With this sum he returned home, commenced operations, and with money collected elsewhere, the building progressed rapidly. On the 4th of July, 1846, it is to be opened for the reception of students.

There will be an exhibition or commencement on that day, the exercises to consist of speaking in prose and verse in many languages. Music will also form a part of the entertainment of the day. All this will be held in the open air, in front of the University.

The Bishop also succeeded in having his Cathedral fin-

ished very handsomely, and also having two other churches erected, making three churches in Chicago.

Who can describe the joy of this Bishop, when he pauses for a while in his gigantic undertakings, to contemplate the rapid strides Catholicity has made in the West during his short jurisdiction.

In a very few years he will be enabled to send clergymen to every section of his Diocese. The natural conclusion is, where priests are desired and sought after and procured, that churches will of course be built.

In erecting the University, the Bishop did many things in that one act, by teaching or preparing young men for the priesthood; educating the Catholic youth of Illinois splendidly; by so doing, preparing them to fill eminent places in society; in short, the erection of this University will prove a spiritual and temporal blessing to the whole State of Illinois, a comfort to its Rt. Rev. founder; and a star of hope to the many young divines, who will have left its retreat, to move in the more boisterous world around.

Miss Sarah follows this account with a more personal note:

The Rt. Rev. Bishop resided with us during his sojourn in New York, and greatly did we regret his departure. The prospect that he held forth to us, of visiting the City at short intervals, in a measure soothed our grief but did not dispel it. He visited the City again in 1846, in order to attend the Convention [Plenary Council] in Baltimore; his stay in New York was short. It is impossible to describe the gloom that hangs over us when he leaves us; or to describe fully the esteem and love that every member of the family has for him.

Bishop Quarter's portrait always hung in the drawing-room of the Kerrigan house in New York, and is still treasured. Other mementos of him are the first prayer book printed in the Chicago Diocese, and a cross given him by the Indians, composed of adobe and pebbles.

During their East Broadway residence the Kerrigans were members of old St. Peter's parish, Barclay Street. The original church, New York's first, opened in 1785, was declared unsafe in 1836 and the construction of the present building was begun and carried on with more haste than prudence during a period when a great financial panic paralyzed all financial and industrial progress. As a result the work was almost at a standstill when

Mr. Kerrigan came to the rescue and enabled the trustees to continue and have the new edifice available for the use of the congregation in February 1838. Formal recognition of the service was made at a meeting of the parish officials who passed this resolution :

At a meeting of the Trustees of St. Peter's Church held in the Vestry Room April 11, 1838, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted :

RESOLVED That the thanks of the Trustees and Congregation of Saint Peter's Church are eminently due and hereby tendered to James Kerrigan, late Treasurer of the Board for the very liberal manner in which he advanced a Large Sum of Money for the rebuilding of said church in 1837 during a period of unexampled distress and scarcity of money for which Liberality the Congregation are indebted for the early completion of St. Peter's Church for Divine Worship.

BERNARD GRAHAM,
Secretary

GEO. PARLOW,
Chairman

This resolution engrossed on parchment was presented to Mr. Kerrigan and is still preserved in the family archives. I am indebted to his granddaughter, Mrs. Lucien Antoine (Blanche Kerrigan), for the privilege of copying the text of this testimonial from the original.

In 1844, St. Peter's Church corporation became involved in overwhelming financial difficulties; was declared bankrupt and was sold at auction. James Kerrigan again came to the rescue in this crisis among those who raised the money necessary to redeem the church.

Hon. Alfred J. Talley, in an address delivered at the Sesquicentennial Jubilee celebration of St. Peter's in 1935, gave the following account of the financial troubles of 1844 :⁸

The trustees made the mistake of inducing the parishioners to deposit with them their savings on an agreement for an allowance of the same rate of interest as the savings banks were then paying. The response was very great, but the management was bad, and in 1844 the Church Corporation became bankrupt and an assignment for the benefit of credi-

⁸Talley, Hon. Alfred J. "St. Peter's Sesquicentennial."—RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. XXVI.

tors was made. The Church, to the dismay of the Catholics and the consternation of depositors, was actually sold at public auction at the Merchants' Exchange for \$46,000. Bishop Hughes had the property bid in for the Diocese. The validity of the sale was challenged and the matter was thrown into the courts where it remained for five years. It was a ghastly period for the struggling church. Criticism and scurrility were everywhere rampant. The note holders made the life of the Bishop a martyrdom. In 1849, worn down completely by conditions, Dr. Power died, and after a few months in charge of Dr. Pise, the church was given a new pastor in the person of Father William Quinn, who served from 1849 to 1873. The courts confirmed the validity of the sale, so that the trustees were accountable to the creditors for the purchase price of \$46,000. The total indebtedness was around \$150,000, every dollar of which, under the leadership of Father Quinn, was ultimately paid and every claimant satisfied.

In December 1852, this happy event was celebrated with a *Te Deum* in the church at which Bishop Hughes presided and preached a sermon in which he declared that so long as he remained head of the Diocese no priest or Catholic layman should ever have the authority in the name of religion to receive one penny in the form of deposits.

In some unexplained way, James Kerrigan seems not to have received adequate recognition of the part he played in the affairs of the church. At the Solemn Mass already referred to, celebrating the payment of the debts in 1852, no mention was made of him. On the afternoon of the same Sunday, his good friend Felix Ingoldsby called upon him, wroth at the omission of the honor due his friend. James Kerrigan would say nothing about it. "Have you no feelings, man?" roared Mr. Ingoldsby. "Are you a stick, or a stone?" Indeed, indignation was high among all his friends.

In after years, his children shrugged their shoulders and said: "What difference does it make? God knows what he did, and we know it, and that is all that matters." But not so Miss Sarah, the eldest. Idolizing her father as she did, she never quite forgave the slight. When she was very old, the Right Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, of St. Peter's Church, called upon her in West Hoboken, eager for information about the history of the

St. Peter's of her youth, which she could have given so richly; but she retired into her shell and told him little. And thus unwittingly, she did injustice to her father's memory. Before her death, she ordered box after box of valuable letters and papers to be destroyed before her eyes.

In 1850, the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank was established, and James Kerrigan was one of the incorporators. He was elected first Chairman of the Finance Committee and served until 1864, when he was succeeded by his friend, Felix Ingoldsby. A portrait of Mr. Kerrigan hangs in the Emigrant Savings Bank today.⁹

All James Kerrigan's children received a splendid Catholic education. The older girls attended Madame Canda's Finishing School, one of the best of that day; but when the Convent of the Sacred Heart was established at Manhattanville, New York,¹⁰ the younger girls were sent there. The boys attended the St. John's College at Fordham. It was an all day trip for the family carriage from East Broadway to the College and the Convent when the young people returned to school or came home for the long vacation. A little bundle of letters found in an attic, proved to be correspondence between Joseph, Michael and William at Fordham, and Margaret and Annie at Manhattanville, covering the years 1852 to 1854. They breathe an affection that is remarkable,

⁹Following the organization of the Irish Emigrant Society in New York (1841) Bishop Hughes inspired the founding of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, which was incorporated April 10, 1850, with these trustees: Gregory Dillon, Robert B. Minturn, Joseph Stuart, William Watson, Terence Donnelly, John Nicholson, Felix Ingoldsby, Andrew Carrigan, Peter A. Hargous, Hugh Kelly, James Kerrigan, John Milhau, John Manning, James Mathews, John McMenomy, William Redmond, John P. Nesmith, and Fanning G. Tucker. Gregory Dillon was elected the first president and so continued until his death, March, 1854; James Kerrigan was chosen as the first chairman of the Finance Committee. The Bank opened at 51 Chambers Street, once the site of Father Felix Varela's Christ Church (moved there from Ann Street in 1831), paying \$2,100 a year rent to John Milhau the owner. The first day, September 30, 1850, twenty depositors opened accounts totaling \$3,000. Today (1937) the bank has more than 294,000 depositors and more than \$494,000,000 resources. Mr. Kerrigan continued his connection with the bank until his death.—Bennett, William Harper, *A Chronological History of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank*. Privately printed, 1932.

¹⁰Garvey, Mary, R.S.C.J. *Mary Aloysia Harvey, Religious of the Sacred Heart*, 1910. The first convent was begun for Mother Harvey, at Houston and Mulberry streets, New York, July 14, 1841; thence it was moved to Astoria, L. I., in September 1844, and next located at Manhattanville, February 17, 1847.

exemplifying the beautiful Christian spirit that animated the entire family. The simplicities of these letters, the stories of school life of that day, contrast sharply with our times.

November 11th, 1852

Dear Sarah:

Although we had made so many promises that we would meet you at the Convent today, we were unable to fulfill those promises, but owing to no fault of ours. Father Larkin¹¹ refused to let us go, saying that it was the same as going to the City, and that he intends to grant the boys not a single privilege, so he could not let us go. So we need never expect to have the pleasure of visiting Mag and Annie any more.

But in order to make up for this, we must go to the City on Thanksgiving, which will be this day (Thursday) two weeks, for as you know we were unable to get clothes the last time we were down.

Father Larkin is having heaters all over the College, so that when they *do* get in operation they will make the place quite warm. I have heard it said that we will not have fire in the study room before the 25th of this month. However, they have the heater in the dormitories going, so that we are roasted during the night, and frozen during the daytime.

Billy took a long walk to High Bridge this afternoon, and I think he must be pretty tired, for it is full eight miles walk to go there and back again; and at the speed the bands are made to travel it is anything but agreeable. I did not know he was going, or I should have advised him not to go; but at all events the trip will do him no harm.

I suppose Mag and Annie were anxiously expecting us today. I think I can see them jumping up every time the bell rings, and saying: "There are Joe, Mike and Billy," but no Joe, Mike or Billy is there. Disappointed, they return again, thinking that surely the next time the bell rings it will be they. Ding-a-ling goes the bell a second time. "There they are" says Annie, and off she starts to get the first kiss from Billy, Maggy following her as fast as her weight will let her. The door is opened—and—and—no Joe, Mike or Billy, Maggy sees a stage coming up the lane, and tells Annie to

¹¹Father John Larkin, a remarkable orator and brilliant scholar, born in England in 1810 was one of the Jesuit Community who came to New York from Bardstown, Kentucky, to take charge of St. John's College, Fordham, in 1846. He was president at Fordham 1851-54, and founded and was first president of the College of St. Francis Xavier, New York, 1847-49, where he died December 11, 1858.

wait, perhaps they have hired a stage. Annie waits until the stage stops before the door, and although she sees that it is full of ladies, yet she thinks that Joe, Mike or Billy might be stowed away in it. They wait until all have come out of the stage, and it has gone off. They now return to the parlor, their disappointment visible in their countenances. In this way the whole afternoon is spent. Then they begin to wonder what could have kept us away. Perhaps, they say, the tracks have run off the engine; they think of many extravagant reasons, all but the right one. But I will write to Maggy and let her know the reason. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

JOE.

June 10, 1853

My dear Mag:

After having anxiously expected your letter for many days, I at last received it today. I suppose the mail was delayed, or perhaps the Nuns forgot all about it.

Kate was up to see us yesterday, and she told us that she thought Tom would go away some time next week. He is not going to Arkansas as he intended, but to Virginia, for Father thought it was too far away. We intend to ask to go down and see him before he goes, for we may not see him again in a long time. I suppose you and Annie will go home too, for you know how much he would like to see us all before he leaves.

We had High Mass this morning for the General of the Society of Jesus, who died some time ago at Rome.¹² The church was all hung with black, and in the middle was a large bier, ten or twelve feet high, covered with black cloth, and surrounded with candles. Hanging from the ceiling, immediately above the bier, there were strips of white and black muslin which were attached to the pillars on both sides. The altar was covered with black, and behind was a large white cross which reached to the ceiling. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

November 8, 1853

Dear Maggy:

. . . . I suppose you will wonder when I tell you that we have been home again. We went down on Thursday eve-

¹²Very Rev. John Roothan, S.J., twenty-fourth Father General of the Society of Jesus, died May 8, 1853.

ning and did not return until Sunday. The reason of that was because the Pope's Nuncio¹³ and Archbishop Hughes were up here on Thursday and gave us two days' recreation. So you see that although we are Philosophers we still know how to have our own fun. We did not have to trot away over to Jersey either, for we found all the folks at the house in East Broadway; and I can assure you that I like it far better. The house looks very fine now, but I suppose it will look finer still when we go home at Christmas, which, by the bye, is fast approaching.

I suppose the Nuncio has paid you a visit before this; has he not? I hope you received him as well as we did at the College, for he seemed to be very much pleased. He told us that he never was so much pleased with anything during his stay in this country as he was with the manner in which he was received by the students of St. John's and to give a proof of it he gave us recreation for two days.

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

November 15, 1853

Dear Maggy:

. . . . I suppose Kate was in great humour last Thursday. She seems to be perfectly delighted with the idea of living in the city again, and well she may be delighted, for she will have more pleasure in the city than in the country, especially in the winter.

How do you get along with the blue ribbon? Does it feel too heavy for you? I suppose you are quite large now, since you wear a ribbon and ring the bell.

I do not think you did the wisest thing in postponing those three days which the Nuncio gave you until Christmas, for you may not get them at all. I think we took the wisest plan, for we made sure of them before he [the Nuncio] left the College. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

¹³The Most Rev. Archbishop Gaetano Bedini was appointed by Pope Pius IX Nuncio to Brazil, and, on his way there, visited the United States, June 30, 1853, to February 4, 1854, a stay that had the most interesting and important influence on the political and religious incidents of that time. He died Cardinal Bishop of Viterbo, September 6, 1864. Guilday, Rev. Dr. Peter "Gaetano Bedini," RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. XXIII.

November 21, 1853

Dear Maggy:

I am glad to see that Annie has had the courage to write to us at last. It must have been hard work for her to bring herself to it. . . . I do not see why you complain so much because no one goes to see you, for there has been nobody up here since they began to move, until yesterday when we received a visit from Father and Mother. They did not leave home until after dinner so that it was about half past three when they got up here. However, they did not leave till five o'clock, and as they had to travel away over to Jersey they did mind it. Father seems to be in great humour with the idea of remaining in the City during the winter.

I suppose you have heard before this that Tom goes to the factory every day. I think if he remains there a little while longer he will like it well enough, for Father intends to leave the business to Maurice and him at the first of May if he will remain.

I think I had better stop. I have not much time now for I have a pretty long lesson for tomorrow morning, and as I am a philosopher now, and as this is my last year in College, it will not do for me to miss my lessons. We all send our love to you and Annie, and do not forget to pray for

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

December 14, 1853

Dear Maggy:

I received your letter today (Wednesday) and as you see it has been three days coming the dreadful distance of three miles and a half.

Father was up to see us last Thursday. He brought me the watch which he intended to bring on Tuesday. It is very beautiful, and, I think, even handsomer than either Sarah's or Joe's.

Sarah was up to see us on Tuesday and she says that Mother is getting quite well again. She went to church on Sunday, and the folks were quite astonished to see her look so well after such a severe illness. I only hope she will keep well and be spared to us for many years yet to come.

I suppose you have heard that Billy is not coming to the College after Christmas. I think it is far better for a little fellow like him to be at home where he can be attended to better than among a rough set of boys. It is also better for us, for we will not have to put up with his nonsense.

I think it is a real shame that Father Larkin will not let us go to see you, for Billy said that little Jackson went to see his sister the Sunday before last. When we come back after Christmas vacation, I intend to ask him again, and if he does not give us permission we will not trouble him again. Next year, we can go to see you without *his* permission. It was the only pleasure we used to have during the first year you were at the Convent, and I can assure you that the Thursday afternoons are everything but pleasant now, as we have been deprived of it.

Joe has had a cold for two or three days, and I do not think he will answer Annie's letter right away. He is not in the infirmary and I think it is just as well for it is not a very pleasant place to stay in. I hope, however, that he will get rid of it before Christmas, for you know Father cannot bear to hear anyone coughing. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

January 18, 1854

Dear Maggy:

. . . There has been nobody up here since last Tuesday week so we have heard nothing about that grand party; and if it continues to snow as it does now I think there will be very little hope of seeing anyone tomorrow (Thursday).

I suppose you have heard before this of the death of Sidney Atocha. The poor little fellow was sick only three days. His mother came up yesterday morning and remained with him all day, and I believe, all night. The news of his death came on us very suddenly for we hardly knew that he was sick. All the little boys were crying at supper and they could not be induced to eat anything. He was greatly liked by all the boys because he was a very good little fellow. Mass was said for him this morning at 8 o'clock at which all the boys attended, and Father Larkin praised Sidney very highly for his piety, and said there was not the least doubt of his happiness. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

February 7, 1854

Dear Maggy:

I received your letter on Saturday and was very glad to hear that you were so pleased with our little presents. I was also glad to hear that the ribbon was the right kind.

Joe returned to College last night after I had written to Annie. He appears to be quite well now, and I think he looks somewhat fatter than when he went home, and I only hope that he will keep so all the time, and not tire himself out with writing, for I am sure that it was nothing else that made him sick.

He had fine times at home; don't you think so? I wish we all could have had such times; don't you? But never mind, it will not be long before we will all be together again. Only think, there are only five months more before the 15th of July. What glorious times we will have on that day if everything goes well.

I might have staid a little longer with you on Thursday, for the train did not come up until six o'clock, so you see I had to wait some time at Harlem. When I was half way down the road leading from the Convent I met the old man coming up, and as he only charged sixpence I thought I might as well ride, especially as it was pretty muddy walking. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

MIKE.

March 25, 1854

My dear Mag:

Old Bill is dead! That good old soul (if soul he had any, which is extremely doubtful) has been gathered to his fathers. Long did they watch over his stall—(no, couch, I mean) watching the dying one before them, their eyes filled with crocodile tears, and their hearts beating high with anxious hopes and fears. The hens and roosters ceased their cackling; the geese and goslings softened their sharp quacking; and the little dog, the companion of all his joys and sorrows, conscious of the danger of the friend he loved so dearly, forgot his accustomed merry bark, and with his tail between his legs, went silently about. His death was calm and peaceful as the breath of morning, or a snooze before breakfast. With one long, faint neigh that noble and courageous one passed away from the scenes of this earth, to those of oblivion—and now, nothing remains of him but the bones; we had his flesh for dinner today.

But my sorrow for the loss of poor Bill has almost made me forget to tell you who Bill was. I will tell you now. He was the old college horse. Old, did I say? Old would be too young for him. He was an *antediluvianarian*. The oldest inhabitant is unable to remember the time when he was a colt. His fame has spread far and wide over the country.

Many a time have we seen his noble figure pass by our playground, and many a time have we pegged him with stones to try his mettle and make him change his stately and dignified walk into a full gallop.

But poor fellow, he is now dead. We miss him in the playground and around the College . . . enough of this sad news. I know it will not be pleasing to you, but my heart is overflowing with emotion, and the safety valve might become disordered if I kept my feelings pent up within the narrow limits of my poor heart. . . .

Thank God these fish days will soon be over, and then we will all be at home once more. By the bye, there are dark rumors going around that we are to have no Easter vacation this year. *O tempora, oh Moses!* But as you are unacquainted with Latin I will have to translate this for you. It signifies, in plain English, Oh Moses, won't there be hard times! . . .

Your affectionate brother,

JOE.

It must have been shortly after this that Maggy died; the family records give her death at sixteen years of age. She was a rare young soul, beloved by all. A portrait of her, rather plump and pleasing, in her dark blue Convent uniform, with a lace collar and cameo brooch, is still in possession of a member of the family.

Another of Miss Sarah's careful notes tells us:

The Most Rev. F. N. Blanchet, D.D., of Oregon, visited us on the thirteenth of June, 1852, [at West Hoboken] and remained a few days. The Archbishop celebrated Mass in our private chapel on the morning of the fourteenth.¹⁴

On the fifteenth, we left home at half past six a. m., accompanied by His Grace, in order to be present at the distribution of premiums at the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Manhattanville.

His Grace did not return with us, but on the nineteenth, he called to bid us farewell, as he intended to sail upon the following day for Oregon, in one of the Pacific line of steamers.

¹⁴Most Rev. François N. Blanchet, an intrepid missionary and first Archbishop of Oregon City (1846). He was born at St. Pierre, Province of Quebec, Canada, September 30, 1795, and died at Portland, Oregon, June 18, 1883. His brother, Augustin Magloire, was the first Bishop of Walla Walla—Nesqually, State of Washington (1846). The *Catholic Encyclopedia* article, "Blanchet, François Norbert."

In 1859, it was decided that some of the family should make the Grand Tour of Europe, then indispensable for culture. Miss Sarah was to chaperone two of the younger ones, Joseph and Annie. They went, fortified with letters of introduction from Archbishop Hughes and other Church dignitaries. Cardinal Wiseman was especially gracious to them in London. At that time, notable English people were drifting into the Church in large numbers, and the Cardinal had a wide acquaintance. The young Kerrigans found London a round of enchantment. They enjoyed garden parties, drives, bazaars, theatres, and all manner of entertainment. It was their cherished desire to meet the great John Henry Newman, and this boon was granted them. He was living at that time at Edgbaston, his retreat outside the City of Birmingham, and it was arranged that they should spend a day with him. They went to Birmingham, accompanied by Cardinal Wiseman, and had a never-to-be-forgotten visit.

It was Summer, and Dr. Newman and his secretary, a reverend companion, were alone. Luncheon was served at a long refectory table, at one end of which sat Cardinal Wiseman and at the other, Dr. Newman. The young Kerrigans were amused by the antics of a little dog of the black and tan type which trotted back and forth all through the meal looking for tidbits, first from Dr. Newman, then from his secretary. This must have inspired Annie (who sat by Dr. Newman) to tell him tales of her own pets at home. He chuckled often, then relaxed into hearty laughter. Miss Sarah, at the other end of the table, was slightly uneasy. What could Annie be saying to the greatly revered man? Dr. Newman saw her look of inquiry and said in his clipped English speech: "Miss Annie is telling me how she and her brothers trained their little dog to run up and down Papa's back at family prayers while he was saying the Rosary." And he added, with a twinkle in his eyes: "I must confess to something worse than that. When Father—and I are here alone, our little dog runs up and down on the *top* of the table." This hitherto unpublished Newman story has long been repeated in the Kerrigan family.

New York was growing northward very fast, and following the trend of population, the Kerrigans moved from East Broadway in the late fifties, to No. 26 West Fourteenth Street, then

considered very fashionable. The original house still stands, incorporated in the group comprising Hearn's Department Store.

At the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and Fourteenth Street was the renowned Delmonico's restaurant. Across the street from the Kerrigan home stood the Van Beuren mansion, long a landmark which old New Yorkers will remember. In recent years it was removed for modern business buildings. The youngest daughter of the Kerrigans, Annie Teresa, married Henry, a son of the Van Beurens.

On May 4, 1867, Mr. and Mrs. James Kerrigan celebrated their golden wedding with a large reception, a fitting climax to their years of happy companionship. Then came sorrow. In 1870, Mrs. Kerrigan died at the age of seventy-three. Miss Sarah devoted her life to her father. They were constant companions. Though in his seventies, he was Spartan in his regime. They went every morning together to the earliest Mass and Holy Communion at the Church of St. Francis Xavier in West Sixteenth Street. Mr. Kerrigan bought a long fur coat for his daughter to protect her from the bitter cold of the Winter mornings. She once remarked plaintively: "I don't mind going out to Mass before dawn, but I would at least like to come back home by daylight."

The devotion and love of Miss Sarah for her parents was a rare and beautiful thing; it became the mainspring of her existence. Her father died in 1876 in his eighty-seventh year. In her later years, she lived at the Homestead in West Hoboken. There, surrounded by her reminiscences, she rejoiced in maintaining the traditions established by her parents. When members of the hierarchy visited St. Michael's Monastery on occasions of ceremony, Miss Kerrigan always entertained in their honor. The Papal Delegates, Satolli and Martinelli, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Corrigan of New York, all were received by her with graciousness and dignity. She ended her days, as was fitting, in the shadow of the great Monastery church which had been so prominent a factor in the lives of her parents and her own.

CATHOLIC ACTION

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN

In view of the persistent and vigorous efforts (1937) for practical and national concentration of influence and organized force for the promotion of Social Justice and in the resistance to the world wide progress of Communism and Anarchistic principles, it is of interest to note that the growth, in the United States, of real effective national organized Catholic lay action has been slow.

The famous Bishop John England of Charleston, South Carolina, seems to have been the earliest advocate of convocations to discuss topics of current moment. We have records of his holding "Church Conventions" for South Carolina, for North Carolina, for Georgia and for the diocese of Charleston. For the details that follow, I am indebted to Mgr. Peter Guilday's all-inclusive *The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston, (1786-1842)*, (New York, 1927).

The first Georgia Church Convention, held in April 1826, was called "to use our best exertions towards organizing and making permanent our Church in this State." The Fourth Convention of South Carolina, in November of the same year, "assembled according to the principle adopted in our constitution: that of the expediency and utility of consolidation to promote the welfare of our Church." At the same time the eloquent prelate was careful to draw the line of limitation for the activities of the gathering for he told the Georgia delegates to the above mentioned First Convention:

There are some concern of its government which God has committed wholly and exclusively to the charge of those whom The Holy Ghost hath placed as Bishops to govern the Church. In the administration of other matters these prelates are aided by the counsel and the cooperation of their clergy, but in the regulation of its temporal concerns they have not infrequently found it prudent and beneficial to request aid from the zeal and experience of the laity.

It does not appear that universal approval was given to Bishop England's inauguration of this town meeting scheme of adminis-

tration. We find, for instance, Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia writing on June 6, 1824, to Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore in this fashion :

I hope his democratic Church regime will not find favor or be sanctioned at Rome with his Convention and Civil Constitution of the Church which is designed to be ambulatory throughout America. I find myself under the necessity of sending a caveat to Rome to frustrate all such ill-designs as I consider Dr. England to be meditating.

But Bishop Conwell was not then on very friendly terms with Bishop England. The disastrous Hogan scandal was rife in Philadelphia and the Charleston prelate had mixed in to try and bring about peace. Bishop Conwell bitterly resented this intrusion into his diocesan affairs. However Bishop England, ignoring such adverse critics, went on holding his various diocesan and State conventions for a decade or more. But he found no imitators.

In the proceedings of the Eighth Convention, held November 1830, is recorded the following concerning the Catholic press :

Perhaps you need to be informed that the neglect of contributing to its support leaves the oldest of those papers, the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, in a very precarious state.

I would still impress upon your minds the propriety, nay the necessity, of using your exertions and your influence to uphold our few Catholic periodical publications. It is only through them that we can in any manner be enabled to meet, and in some degree to correct, the very serious misrepresentations which a press professing to be under religious influence continually scatters through the land. * * * You are yourselves conscious of the unfairness of the picture which they draw, but that is not enough, you should aid in the effort to undeceive those who are mistaken or misled.

This was said over a century ago, but it would not require much alteration to have it fitted into one of the "ringing resolutions" of current conventions.

Gatherings of Catholics, in general public conferences, to express opinions on social and religious issues, had grown in importance and popularity in Continental Europe, from October 1848, when the first one was held at Mainz, Germany. It was signalized by the advent to leadership in the discussion of social as well as religious questions of the great Bishop Wilhelm Emanuel von Ket-

teler, then the parish priest of Hopstein. The idea spread after this gathering to other countries, and took on an international character at the first Belgian Congress held at Mechlin, August 18 to 22, 1863. This was a great success and the United States was represented, among its delegates, whose list included the champions of the Church from all over Europe, by Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, and the converted former Episcopalian Bishop, Dr. L. Silliman Ives of New York. It was intended that these international Congresses should be held annually but political differences killed the plan, after the second Congress held in September of the following year.

Although often suggested and much debated a National Catholic Congress after the manner of these European assemblages was never held in the United States, until 1889, when on November 11 and 12, the First Catholic Congress was convened in Baltimore, in conjunction with the celebration of the centenary of the establishment of the hierarchy of the United States by Pope Pius VII, in 1789, and the dedication of the Catholic University at Washington. There were about 1,200 delegates present selected by the Bishop of the various dioceses as representative of a certain percentage of the Catholic population in each. It was a very representative and harmonious gathering, as those still living, who were fortunate enough to be among the delegates will remember. The topics proposed for the Congress were the closer union of the Catholic body in the country; increased activity of the laity in aid of the clergy in religious work and a declaration of views on the important questions of the hour and for the promotion of the energies to be applied in the operation of social welfare.

There were twenty set addresses made by laymen on the formal program but a perusal of them now in the official report of the proceedings (*Souvenir Volume*, Detroit, 1889) does not disclose practical plans of action in the long florid academic rhetorical essays.

In an address concluding the proceedings of the Congress Archbishop Ireland said:

I am overjoyed to see so many laymen, overjoyed to listen to such magnificent discourses and such grand papers and to have realized that there is among our Catholics in America

so much talent, so much strong faith. As one of your Bishops I am ashamed of myself that I was not conscious before this of the power existing in the midst of the laity, and that I have not done anything to bring it out. But one thing I will do with God's help. In the future I shall do all I can to bring out this power.

Most of the participants in this first Congress have passed away. The special representative of the Pope for the occasion was the then Archbishop Satolli who thus made his first visit to the United States. It was resolved to hold the second Congress at Chicago, as part of the World's Congresses Auxiliary of the Columbus Exposition and World's Fair of 1892.

The sessions of this Second Congress were held there on September 4, 5, 6, 1893. Only three topics were treated, and without discussion, during the proceedings: "The Social Question as outlined by Leo XIII in his Encyclical 'Rerum Novarum'"; "Catholic Education" and "The Independence of the Holy See." Archbishop Satolli, who represented the Pope at the World's Fair, again greeted the Congress, on behalf of His Holiness. Judged by its predecessor at Baltimore the Second Congress was a failure. It would be impolitic now to detail the reasons which were the differences as to ecclesiastical policy then being agitated.

Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco was invited to be present at the Second Australasian Catholic Congress, held in Melbourne, October 24 to 31, 1904. In sending his regrets at not being able to accept this invitation he wrote, on September 19, 1904, to Archbishop Carr who presided at this Australasian meeting:

Unfortunately in this country at least the whole work of building up the Church falls upon the clergy, and the laity have been so accustomed to see the clergy do everything that it is with great difficulty the laity can be got to give their cooperation. The strength of the German and Belgian Churches is in the union of the two bodies—clergy and laity—and the old maxim "in union there is strength" is fully verified by the condition of the Church of the eastern country, while the truth of the other maxim "divided we fall" is seen in the deplorable condition of the Church in our Latin countries.

We have had two Congresses held in the United States and although their success was considerable yet the results were not as gratifying as we thought they should be. There

were reasons for this incomplete success into which I need not enter.

The Chicago experiment ended the Congress series and the idea of general convocations lapsed until Bishop McFaul, of Trenton, and Bishop Messmer, of Green Bay, later Archbishop of Milwaukee, and the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J., then editor of the *Messenger* magazine, began their agitation for a federation of American Catholic Societies. It had a slow result, but finally Bishop McFaul's persistent work brought about the holding of a convention at Cincinnati, on December 10, 1901, at which the American Federation of Catholic Societies was organized with Thomas B. Minahan as its first president. This was designed as an organization of the Catholic laity, parishes and societies, under the guidance of the Hierarchy, to encourage (1) the Christian Education of youth; (2) the correction of errors and the exposure of falsehood and injustice; the destruction of bigotry and the placing of the Church and Catholics in their true light; (3) the infusion of Christian principles into public and social life, in short to protect and advance all Catholic interests, religious, civil and social. There were 250 delegates at the first convention and this representation increased numerically and in influence at the annual national gatherings held until the breaking out of the World War. Then the Federation gave place to the National Catholic War Council (title later changed to "Conference") representing the Hierarchy. It cared for all Catholic interests incidental to the conflict. At the close of the War the present National Councils of Catholic Men and Catholic Women were organized.

OLIVER POLLOCK

Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution

BY WILLIAM F. MULLANEY, O.M.I.

FOREWORD

The purpose of this paper is to bring to light some unknown features of the life of Oliver Pollock, a Catholic patriot and financier of the American Revolution.

Historical investigations within recent years into the careers of Robert Morris, George Rogers Clark, and Francis Vigo have made known the name of this outstanding character of revolutionary days. On account of the financial aid which he lent to this country, he has been called the "Robert Morris of the West."

Historical writers who have touched upon the life and deeds of Oliver Pollock, have left their contributions chiefly in historical periodicals. James Alton James, Professor of History at Northwestern University, has written a biography of this eminent patriot, which has recently been published.¹ The Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, a kinsman of Pollock, edited a genealogy of his relation in 1883. The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, and the *Magazine of American History* contain articles which shed light on one or more phases of Oliver Pollock's career. Many of his original writings have been lying in the obscurity of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress until recent times. The *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville, Spain, also contains valuable manuscripts of Pollock. The Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden in his work, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of Carlisle, Pa.*, states:

The private papers, miniatures, coat of arms of Oliver Pollock, including all his official documents, commissions from and correspondence with the Continental Congress, etc., were destroyed during the Civil War, partly at Vicksburg, Miss.,

¹James, James Alton, *Oliver Pollock* (New York, 1937).

and partly by the U. S. gunboat *Essex* when it shelled Bayou Sara, La., in 1863.

These would be invaluable today. They would serve especially to clear up the haze of obscurity which clouds the early period of Oliver Pollock's life.

Oliver Pollock is deserving of a better fate than that which has befallen him. His achievements compare with those of Stephen Moylan, John Fitzgerald, Thomas FitzSimons, and Francis Vigo, to all of whom the note, Catholic patriot during the War of Independence, has been given. The spirit which motivated Pollock's sacrifices bespeaks the best type of patriotism. The financial aid which he lent, the hardships to which he subjected not only himself but also his family, the misunderstanding with the government of the country which he loved so well, in the postponement of the payment of its just debts, are facts now recorded and recognized by the writers of our country's history.

The writer of this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Catholic University of America expresses his deepest gratitude to the Right Rev. Monsignor Peter Guilday, his major professor, under whose assistance and guidance this work was written. He also expresses his sincere thanks to Doctor Leo Francis Stock, the Right Reverend Monsignor Patrick J. McCormick, D.D., and the Right Rev. Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, the professors of his minor subjects at the Catholic University of America. He likewise appreciates the opportunity afforded him by his Religious superiors of continuing his studies at this Catholic center of learning. A debt of gratitude is also recognized to Mr. Thomas E. Cassidy of New Rochelle, N. Y., for the valuable services which he rendered in collecting data for this work.

CHAPTER I

POLLOCK FAMILY, (1737-1776)

The eighteenth century witnessed an influx of emigration from Northern Ireland into various sections of the American colonies. This emigration continued especially from the days of William of Orange up to the American Revolution. William, in consequence of his hatred of the Irish, whether Catholic or Protestant, was bent on the destruction of Irish industry. Linen and woollen manufactures were curtailed, and trade was almost at a standstill. To aggravate matters, the Presbyterians, as well as the Catholics of Ireland, were being harassed by the Anglicans because of religious differences. They were only tolerated as non-Conformists and were not permitted by their Anglican brethren who held the reins of government to participate in public affairs.¹ These unhappy conditions in the homeland, as well as the freedom and opportunities afforded in the new country, constituted the motives of emigration of these early settlers.

The best inducements to settlement lay in the Pennsylvania colony. Since 1725 the Germans and the Irish began to make their homes in what is now York County, Pennsylvania. The history of the Germans and Irish in this section is outstanding because of the racial spirit portrayed on both sides: "The stubborn pertinacity and phlegmatic spirit of the one, the exasperating wit and innate pugnacity of the other produced at best an armed neutrality, interrupted by occasional collisions and outbreaks that necessitated vigorous governmental interposition."² As a result of these frequent outbreaks between the two nationalities, the proprietors of the colony in 1750 decided "to sell no lands in either York or Lancaster counties to the Irish, and to make advantageous offers of removal to the Irish settlers . . . to Cumberland county, which offers being liberal were accepted by

¹Emmet, Thomas Addis, "Irish Emigration During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century," *Magazine of American History*, I, 127-141.

²Ganss, Rev. H. G., "History of St. Patrick's Church, Carlisle, Pa.," *Records*, VI (1895), 286. Cf. Schrott, Lambert, O.S.B., "Pioneer German Catholics in the American Colonies (1734-1784)" in United States Catholic Historical Society *Monograph Series*, (1933) XIII, 12-23.

many."³ These were the conditions which existed when Jared Pollock, together with his sons Oliver and James, and their nephew John Pollock emigrated from Ireland, around the year 1760. They made their abode at or near Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.⁴

The date of Oliver Pollock's birth is placed near the year 1737. The exact location of the place of his birth as yet unknown, but a clear proof of his Irish descent is obtained from family tradition, and from the fact that he was a charter member of the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia, and in 1783 a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.⁵

Oliver Pollock's father Jared or Jaret Pollock married the second time in America. One daughter, Jennet, was born of this union. Jared Pollock's wife died on May 12, 1770. The daughter Jennet is mentioned in the school accounts of Oliver Pollock, together with several of his children for the years 1790 and 1791.⁶

James Pollock, brother of Oliver, married Ann Lowry, after his arrival in America. He always retained his Pennsylvania home. His death occurred on September 1, 1800 and his brother administered his estate. In October 1774, James was commissioned Coroner for Cumberland County. He was reappointed to the same office October 9, 1775, and in 1776 he was made a County Commissioner. His will, which was probated November 2, 1799, shows him to be a wealthy land owner, not only in several counties of Pennsylvania, but also in Virginia and Kentucky, and along the Mississippi River between Natchez and Iberville.⁷

James had two sons. Thomas Pollock, son of James, was with his uncle Oliver at the outbreak of the American Revolution, and distinguished himself in the cause of freedom.⁸ He married Margaret Farrel in St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, May 10, 1781, and the Rev. Ferdinand Farmer, was the officiating priest.⁹ A

³*Ibid.*, 287.

⁴Hayden, Horace Edwin, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of Carlisle, Pa.*, (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883), 3.

⁵*Ibid.*, 3.

⁶*Ibid.*, 7. Here the name is spelled *Jeannette*.

⁷*Ibid.*, 3, 4.

⁸*Ibid.*, 5.

⁹"Father Farmer's Marriage Registers, (1758-1786) Preserved at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, Pa.," *Records*, II (1886-1888), 305.

daughter, Mary Pollock, was born of this marriage on February 12, 1782. At her baptism which took place on March 9 of the same year, Don Francisco Rendon, a member of the Spanish legation, acted as one of the sponsors.¹⁰

The *Carlisle Gazette* bears mention of a letter for Hamilton Pollock, whom N. E. Robinson (a relative of Oliver) declares to be Oliver Pollock's nephew. In 1804 he lived in Tunica Village, Louisiana, on the property of his cousin, Lucetta Pollock. He is said to have been an agent of Oliver, and to have received five hundred acres of land for his services.¹¹ Hamilton Pollock may have accompanied his uncle and Thomas, his brother, on Governor Galvez' expedition to reduce the British forts along the Mississippi River in 1778.¹²

Oliver Pollock had also two brothers living in Ireland, Charles and Thomas. The *Oliver Pollock Papers* (1767-1775) contain a letter from Charles to Oliver, dated June 10, 1767, from Doneheady, Ireland. He states that he is in financial distress, and desires Pollock to return home. He says in this letter, "I have wrote to Brother James about my Son, as you wrote to me."¹³ This son was most probably John Pollock who accompanied Oliver and James from Ireland. John Pollock had one daughter Margaret, who was married to Hanse Morrison, and to whom were born John Pollock Morrison and Lucas Morrison. In 1776 John Pollock was entrusted with a mission to the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia for the withdrawal of one thousand pounds for the use of the Commissioners of Cumberland County.¹⁴ He died on February 18, 1807, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.¹⁵

The early settlers of Pennsylvania did not content themselves in their new homes. They listened to the tales of the fertile lands

¹⁰*Ibid.*, IV (1893), 40. Some authors have made John Pollock the brother of Oliver, but there is no record to show that he had a brother by this name.

¹¹Hayden, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹²Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana*, (New Orleans, 1903), III, 104,

¹³*Oliver Pollock Papers* (1767-1775) in Library of Congress, I, 2-4.

¹⁴*Journals of the Continental Congress*, ed. by Worthington Chauncey Ford, V, 622.

¹⁵Hayden, *op. cit.*, 5, 6.

¹⁶Van Tyne, C. H., *The American Revolution: 1776-1783*, (Vol. II, *American Nation Series*, ed. A. B. Hart), 203. Cf. Paxson, Frederic Logan, *The Last American Frontier*, (New York, 1910), 14 ss.

beyond the Alleghanies, and of the deer and bison that wandered through the open plains and forests. Following the southern trend of the valleys between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, the frontiersmen settled the Shenandoah valley and the Piedmont region of the Carolinas, or followed the Ohio River into the fertile lands of Kentucky.¹⁶

Although golden opportunities lay hidden beyond the mountains in the fur trade, Oliver Pollock struck out for another field. The trade between Spain and her colonies along the great Atlantic water route offered a better inducement to his future career. Hence it is that we find him two years after his arrival in Pennsylvania setting up a commercial business in Cuba. Here he was to remain for five or six years, during which time he engaged in port to port trading.¹⁷ The *Oliver Pollock Papers* (1767-1776) contain many business letters addressed to Mr. Oliver Pollock, St. Eustatia. One such letter reads as follows:

Philadelphia, October 27, 1767

Mr. Oliver Pollock,

Sir: Enclosed you have Invoice and Bill of Loading of Sundry Merchandise Ship'd to your address on Board our Brigg: James, Capt. Johnson bound for Dominica and Statia—Should you on your arrival at Dominica find a Saving Market, we would have you by all means sell these and not Risk the Statia Market without the greatest Assurance of doing better.

We expect you will by all means give the Vessel Immediate Dispatch and Remit us our x x and Freight Money by her in that sort of Cash that will best suit our place.

We wish you a Speedy and Safe Voyage and Good Markets and are Sir:

Your Friends and Humble Servants,

HODGE McCULLOCH & BAYARD¹⁸

Cuba in the eighteenth century was one of the leading commercial centers of North America. One writer expresses the importance of the Antilles in these words: "In the light of eighteenth century values, the American colonies were of trivial worth in comparison with the West Indies."¹⁹

¹⁷Downing, Margaret B., "Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 203.

¹⁸*Oliver Pollock Papers*, I, 12, 13.

¹⁹Hill, Robert T., *Cuba and Porto Rico*, (New York, 1898), xxv.

In 1762 England conquered the island after a two months' siege of Havana. The era of Cuba's greatest prosperity dates from this time.²⁰ Agricultural implements were introduced, slaves were imported from Africa to till the soil of Cuba that had practically lay barren for two hundred years. Cuba was ceded back to Spain by the treaty of Paris in 1763. Shipbuilding and the manufacture of wax candles became two of the leading industries. Taxation was oppressive, nevertheless Cuban planters and manufacturers were able to amass large fortunes.²¹

Oliver Pollock had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the leading traders of Europe and America. This acquaintanceship was to stand him in good stead on his appointment as Commercial Agent of the United States in New Orleans in 1777.

Oliver Pollock's conversion to the Catholic Faith most probably occurred while he lived in Cuba. He was a personal friend of a certain Father Thomas Butler of the Society of Jesus (President of Colegio de Belen), who may have been instrumental in his conversion. It was through the influence of this same Father Butler that Pollock later met Captain General Alexander O'Reilly, whose friendship he always cherished.²²

Whether or not Oliver Pollock was married in Cuba or New Orleans, to which city he later moved, is a matter of conjecture up to the present time. The maiden name of his wife was Margaret Kennedy-O'Brien. She was born in 1746 and her death occurred on January 10, 1799, at Silver Springs, Pennsylvania, where Pollock had placed his residence after the American Revolution. Her character, as portrayed in Kline's *Carlisle Weekly Gazette* for Wednesday, January 23, 1799, is as follows:

Memory will long sustain a cause for tears, and each feeling breast acquainted with the real character of our deceased friend will long most fondly dwell on the many excellent traits of goodness that illumined those days she passed on earth.

In her we saw the faithful, the tender, the affectionate wife—a parent most fond, indulgent and kind—a friend cautious,

²⁰Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America*, (American Nation Series, ed., by A. B. Hart, New York, 1904), 296, 297.

²¹Davey, Richard, *Cuba, Past and Present*, (New York, 1898), 59, 60.

²²Thompson, Joseph J., "A Chapter in Illinois Finances," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 75.

just, sincere and warm—a Christian engagingly pious, benevolent and liberal. She sought the tear of misery and relieved it; her soul melted at the misfortunes of others, and made them her own,—her mind was great and happy; and she was blessed with a memory both fertile and pleasantly useful to rear the tender thought of youth with a talent peculiarly her own. Endowed with a well cultivated mind and an excellent understanding, her conversation was ever engagingly instructive and desirable. During her long confinement she discovered much of that true courage which consists in knowing how to bear with misfortune; she never was heard to complain of the Divine will that was about to tear her from the fond embraces of her dearest connections; but with a firmness of mind, which alone proceeds from a conscious rectitude her soul obeyed the awful mandate, and departed in a smile, amid the supplicating prayers of her weeping disconsolate family.

Mrs. Pollock was born in Ireland and descended from a noble family by both her parents—O'Brien of the house of Clare and Kennedy or Ormond—whose sons were distinguished in foreign services.²³

Oliver Pollock's eight children were by name Procopio Jacinto, Jared, Mary Serena, Oliver, Christiana, Bernard Galvez, James and Lucetta Adelaide.²⁴

Procopio Jacinto, the eldest of his children, was born around the year 1769. The name suggests that of a Spanish friend whom Pollock wished to honor by assigning this surname to his son. Procopio was educated in Europe. A portrait of him, painted at Bordeaux, France, portrays him in a scarlet uniform. This painting was destroyed in 1863 during the Civil War. It is known, however, that in 1800 Procopio Jacinto was engaged in coffee culture at Porto Rico. He was immensely wealthy, and it is declared that he lived for a time in St. Petersburg, Russia.²⁵

Jared, the next in age, and named after Oliver's father, was born in New Orleans. On February 13, 1800, he married Mary Briggs at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This marriage was performed by the Rev. Robert Davidson, and was severely opposed by Oliver

²³Hayden, *op. cit.*, 18, 19.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 19.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 20. Oliver Pollock possessed many influential Spanish friends in Cuba and New Orleans. His first son and Bernard Galvez bear the names of Spanish men of rank.

on religious grounds. Jared moved to Centre County, Pennsylvania, where all trace of him disappeared.²⁶

Mary Serena was born July 28, 1778. She was married to Samuel Robinson, M.D., on July 9, 1797. The officiating clergyman was the Rev. N. Snowden, a Protestant minister. In 1808 she moved to Pinckneyville, Wilkinson County, Mississippi. Her death occurred in 1847. Oliver spent the last eight or nine years with her.²⁷ The record of Mary Serena's baptism is on file in the archives of St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans:

In the parish church of St. Louis of New Orleans, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of August, of the year 1779, we, the undersigned, Vicar General of His Excellency the Bishop and Pastor of the parish church, solemnly baptized and placed the Holy Oils on a girl born July 28, 1778, legitimate daughter of Oliver Pollock, Commissioner of the United States, and of Dona Margarite Obrehen (*sic*), his legitimate wife, and for that I have given my signature the same day and year as above.

(Signed) PADRE CYRILLO DE BARCELONA²⁸

James Pollock was born on July 2, 1779. He was killed at Silver Springs, Pennsylvania, when the horse, upon which he was riding, became startled at the sight of a dog's carcass. James was thrown from the saddle, hitting his head upon a rock. This incident occurred sometime before the death of his mother in 1799.²⁹ The record of his baptism is given thus:

In the Parish Church of St. Louis of the city of New Orleans, on the third day of the month of October, of the year 1780, we, the undersigned, Vicar General and Eccle-

²⁶*Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 20, 21.

²⁸Baptismal Record of Maria Antonia (Cizella) Pollock:

En La Yglesia Parroquial de Santo Luis del Nueva Orleans a los veinte y ocho dias del mes de Agosto de año mil setecientos sententia y nueve Nos el infra firmado Vicario General de Excellentissimo y Cura de la Yglesia Parroquial Bantice solemnem^{te} y puse los oleos una niña nacia veinte y ocho de Jules del año aña mil setecientos setenta y ocho hija legitima de Pollock Olivier, comisardo de los Stados Unidos y de Dona Margarita Obrehen de legitima muyer y paraque conste la firmos el mismo dia y aña que arriba.

(Signed) F. Cyrillo de Barcelona.

St. Louis Cathedral Archives, I, 72, no. 299.

Father Cyrillo of Barcelona spelled the name of Oliver's wife phonetically; hence Obrehen etc. for O'Brien.

²⁹Hayden, *op. cit.*, 21.

siastical Judge of the Province of Louisiana and Parish Priest of the Church mentioned, solemnly baptized Diego (James), born the second of July of the year above mentioned, legitimate son of Oliver Pollock, Commissioner of the United Provinces and of Dona Marquerite Monbreen (*sic*). Sponsors were Hiardo (Jared) Pollock, and Christine, the sister, and for that I have given my signature the same day, month, and year above mentioned.

(Signed) PADRE CYRILLO DE BARCELONA.³⁰

Lucetta Adelaide Pollock, the seventh of Oliver's children, was born in New Orleans, September 9, 1782. In 1797 or 1798 her portrait was painted by the distinguished Kosciusko, and is now the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Her will was recorded in 1804, and can be seen in the Register of Wills' Office, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She owned a tract of land and an estate approximating 500 acres in Tunica Village, Louisiana. One-half of this she bequeathed to her sister, Mary Serena, one-fourth to Christina and the remaining fourth to her brother Oliver.³¹ March 26, 1804, marks the date of her death. Her burial was in St. Mary's Graveyard, Philadelphia. The vault, worn by the years, is still visible.³² A description of it was given by the Very Rev. John J. Farrell, O.S.A., to Mr. Thomas E. Cassidy of New Rochelle, N. Y., June 28, 1930:

It is not a vault, strictly speaking. There is a stone lying flat on the surface of the ground, with the both ends dressed. There may be brick work beneath the stone, but I hardly think so. One side of the stone is sunken, and is partly covered with soil. The stone is dark and the lettering or chisel-

³⁰Baptismal Record of Diego Pollock:

En la Yglesia Parroquia de Santo Luis de la Cindad de la Nueva Orleans a los tres dies del mes de ocembre de lo' año mil setecientos ochenta Nos el infra firmado Vicario General Juez Ecclesiastico de la Provincia de la Luisiana y cura Parroco de la Yglesia dicha Bantisamos Solenmente hijo Diego nacido el dose de Julio de año arriba dicho hijo legitimo de oliver Pollock Comisario de las Provincias Unidos y de Dona Marguerite Monbreen fueron Padrinos Hiardo Pollock y Cristina la hermana y paraque conste lo firmames el mismo dia mes y año arriba dicho.

(Signed) F. Cyrillo de Barcelona.

St. Louis Cathedral Archives, New Orleans, La., I, 206, no. 427.

³¹Hayden, *op. cit.*, 21, 22.

³²Cf. "St. Mary's Graveyard, Fourth & Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa., Records and Extracts from Inscriptions on Tombstones," *Records* (1888-1891), III, 267. The grave is located in Section H.

ling rather dim, which makes the reading rather difficult. It would hardly be possible to take a photo, being flat, very much eaten away, dark and very much covered with bushes. However I was able to read the following:

Lucretia Pollock, died March 26, 1804, age 21,
daughter of Olive (*sic*) and Margaretta (*sic*).

The baptismal record of Lucetta Pollock is the third and last of the baptismal records of Oliver Pollock's children which are on file in the archives of St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, Louisiana:

In the Parish Church of St. Louis of New Orleans, the 29th of September, the year of 1782, we, the below named, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge of the Province of Louisiana, Parish Priest of the said parish, solemnly baptized and placed the holy oils on a girl, who was named Lucetta, born the ninth day of the stated month and year, legitimate daughter of Oliver Pollock and of Marguerite O'Bray (*sic*). Sponsors were Bernardo Ottero, Royal Comptroller and Dona Juana Clara, and for this I have given my, signature on the same day, month and year as above.

(Signed) PADRE CYRILLO DE BARCELONA.³³

Bernard Galvez Pollock who was so named in honor of Oliver Pollock's intimate friend Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, was born in Philadelphia, June 3, 1785, and baptized at St. Joseph's Church June 20th of the same year. Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister to the United States, was one of the sponsors.³⁴ What happened to Bernard Galvez during his later life has not as yet been ascertained. History seems

³³Baptismal Record of Lucetta Pollock:

En la Yglesia Parroquial de Santo Luis de la Nueva Orleans en veinte y nueve de Septiembre el año de mil setecientos ochenta y dos Nos el infra nombrado Vicario General, Juez Ecclesiastico de la Provincia de Luysiana, Cura Parroca de la dicha Parroquia bantizamo solemnem^{do} y pusimo los Santos Oleos al una Niña a quien pusieron por nombre Lucetta nacida el dia nueve el expressasa mes y año: hija legitima de Olivier Polock y ■ Margarite Obray fueron sus Bernardo Ottero Contadon Real, Dona Juana Clara y para que conste lo firmamos en el mismo dia mes y año ut supra.

(Signed) F. Cyrillo de Barcelona.

St. Louis Cathedral Archives, New Orleans, La., I, 258, no. 698.

These, according to the archivist, Dr. John Ray, are the only records available at the present time. It will be noted that Oliver Pollock's identity is unmistakable.

³⁴*Records*, "List of Baptisms registered at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia," IV (1893), 67.

also to be silent concerning Christiana or Christine who was born in New Orleans. Pollock's children for the most part are mentioned in the will of James, Oliver's brother, and in the school accounts of Oliver for the years 1790 and 1791.³⁵

Oliver Pollock, as far as can be gathered, was a self-educated man. It was necessary for him to acquire English, Spanish and French. While in Cuba he mastered the Spanish language. He may have attended the Jesuit University of Belen, of which his friend, Father Thomas Butler, was the President. French became a necessity to him while in New Orleans for, although "the Spanish language was the official language of the State, the French continued to be the language of nearly all the inhabitants during the entire period of Spanish domination."³⁶

On November 3, 1762, France, by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, ceded Louisiana to Spain. It was not until the tenth of February, 1763, that this treaty became known. England was to possess everything on the left side of the Mississippi River, "with the exception of the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it stands." The navigation of the river was to be free both to Great Britain and to Spain, "the ships of both nations being neither stopped nor subjected to any duty."³⁷

News of the cession did not reach Louisiana until 1764,³⁸ and it was not until March 5, 1766, that Spain took actual possession of her acquired territory, when the Spanish Governor Ulloa arrived in New Orleans with two companies of infantry to claim the land in the name of the King.³⁹ He found the colony in a state of discontent and unrest. For four years the Superior Council had been the ruling factor, and they were now unwilling to abandon what they considered their just right to legislate for the people.⁴⁰ Although he made many attempts to placate the populace, which was by a majority of French descent, they were unwilling to yield to his demands. Events came to such a pass that a conspiracy, at the head of which was Lafrenière, the King's Attorney General,

³⁵Hayden, *op. cit.*, 4, 7.

³⁶Fortier, Alcée, *History of Louisiana*, (New York, 1904), II, 7.

³⁷Gayarré, Charles, *op. cit.*, II, 91, 92.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 109-112. Letter of Louis XV, King of France to Mr. D'Abbadie, acting Governor of Louisiana.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 131, 132.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 132.

arose to eject Ulloa and to set up a government of its own. Accordingly Ulloa on November 1, 1768, was forced to leave the colony in the hands of the insurgents.⁴¹

A reaction soon set in against the leaders of the insurrection. Spain was also forming plans to take control of her acquired territory and to punish those who had stirred up the revolt. She sent across the sea one of her ablest generals, Count Alexander O'Reilly, to put down the revolt. O'Reilly, a native of Ireland, was born about the year 1735. He had distinguished himself in the service of Spain, and was honored by King Charles III. In 1762 he had been sent to Havana to repair the fortifications of Cuba, when that island was returned to Spain by the English. It was in this capacity that he first met Oliver Pollock, who became his life-long friend.⁴²

On the morning of July 24, 1769, a Spanish fleet under the command of General O'Reilly made its appearance at the Balize.⁴³ It is very likely that Oliver Pollock had at the instance of O'Reilly, who may perhaps have convinced him of better trading facilities in New Orleans, already settled in Louisiana. The year 1768 is generally given as the date for this settlement.⁴⁴ Whether he witnessed the events which were to follow is not known, but he was to play an important role in saving the colony from famine during O'Reilly's stay in that city.

O'Reilly found the colony in a deplorable state of unrest and anxiety. Lafrenière and the other insurgents were arrested while attending a banquet in O'Reilly's honor. They were tried, judged and found guilty of treason. On October 25, 1769, a firing squad put an end to their lives.⁴⁵

The total population of New Orleans consisted of more than 3000 people. The troops of O'Reilly almost equalled that number.⁴⁶ The supply of grain and flour was insufficient to meet the needs of army and people combined, so that the colony was on the verge of

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 157-209, for an account of this conspiracy.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 285-289. Cf. "A Chapter in Illinois Finances" by Joseph J. Thompson in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 75.

⁴³Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 284.

⁴⁴Hayden, *op. cit.*, 7. Cf. "Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution," by Margaret B. Downing in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 203.

⁴⁵Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 342, 343.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 355.

starvation. The price of grain rose to \$30 per barrel. It was on this occasion that Pollock offered to his friend a cargo of grain that had arrived from Baltimore, Maryland. He had purchased the brig *Royal Charlotte*, on October 2, 1769, loaded it with flour and grain and shipped it to New Orleans. It arrived in time to avert the famine. Pollock offered the cargo to O'Reilly at his own price, but O'Reilly refused to accept the offer unless Pollock first stipulated the price. Accordingly Pollock offered it at \$15 per barrel, and this offer was accepted by the General. He received the everlasting gratitude of O'Reilly, who granted him the privilege of free trade in Louisiana as long as he desired.⁴⁷ That Pollock enjoyed this privilege is attested by his own words: "I then said that as the king had 3000 troops there and the inhabitants were in distress for flour, I did not mean to take advantage of that distress, and I offered my flour at \$15 or thereabouts per barrel, which he readily agreed to, and observed that he would make a note of it to the king, his master, and that I should have a free trade there as long as I lived, and I did enjoy that privilege so long as I stayed in the country."⁴⁸

New Orleans in 1769 had little to show for the future preëminence it was to enjoy. The town was built in the form of a parallelogram, extending some 1300 yards along the river front with a depth of 700 yards. The population averaged 3190 when the first census was taken by O'Reilly.⁴⁹ Concerning the social life of New Orleans, Gayarré writes:

There were but humble dwellings in Louisiana in 1769, and he who had drawn his inferences from their outward appearance would have thought that they were occupied by mere peasants; but had he passed their thresholds he would have been amazed at being welcomed with such manners as were habitual in the most polished courts of Europe, and entertained by men and women wearing with the utmost ease and grace the elegant and rich costume of the reign of Louis XV. There, the powdered head, the silk and gold flowered coat, the

⁴⁷Hayden, *op. cit.*, 7. Cf. Gayarré *op. cit.*, III, 31; also "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the American Revolution in the West" by James A. James in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1929-1930), 69.

⁴⁸Hayden, *op. cit.*, 7.

⁴⁹Winston, James E., "Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (1924-1925), 201; Cf. Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 355.

lace and frills, the red-heeled shoe, the steel-handled sword, the silver knee buckles, the high and courteous bearing of the gentleman, the hoop petticoat, the brocaded gown, the rich head-dress, the stately bow, the slightly rouged cheeks, the artificially graceful deportment, and the aristocratic features of the lady, formed a strange contrast with the roughness of surrounding objects.⁵⁰

The residence of Oliver Pollock was located at 1215 Royal Street. It was in the block near his home where in 1769 the troops of General O'Reilly were quartered. It is situated in the Vieux Carré section of the city "known throughout the world for its many sites of historical interest." Oliver Pollock's mansion was "built of cypress wood, in what was formerly a whole square of ground, ornamented by some very fine old mulberry trees. It is well-preserved, old fashioned with wide, low roofs, but spacious rooms and galleries."⁵¹

New Orleans from the very foundation became a trading center. The products of Louisiana consisted of indigo, furs and peltries, rice and corn, timber and lumber. Few merchant vessels came from France, but the West Indies carried on a brisk trade with New Orleans, after 1769. The King's vessels brought whatever was necessary for the troops and the goods for the Indian trade. The indigo of Louisiana was inferior to that of Guatemala, Caracas and West India islands. The sugar cane did not become a chief export until near the beginning of the nineteenth century. The resources of Louisiana had not yet been developed.⁵² No one at that early date could have foreseen and prophesied the era of greatness that New Orleans was to reach under Spanish domination, and attain its greatest heights, when it was to become the possession of the United States in 1803. From 1769 to 1803 its population increased from 3190 to 8000 souls. In 1836 the population was estimated at 60,000. In time its export and import trade vied with that of New York and Boston.⁵³

General Alexander O'Reilly remained as Governor General of the Louisiana territory sixteen months. He departed for Spain

⁵⁰Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 354.

⁵¹Hayden, *op. cit.*, 19.

⁵²Gayarré, *op. cit.* 356.

⁵³Winston, *loc. cit.*, XI, 201.

on October 29, 1770, and after an eventful career, during which he was many times honored by the King of Spain, he died November 3, 1794.⁵⁴ During his stay he laid down many regulations affecting the commerce of the colony. An anchorage duty on all ships was imposed in order to collect revenue of the protection of the levee in front of the city. He recommended free commerce with Spain and Havana, but only Spanish ships were to be received in New Orleans, and used for transportation purposes. Two vessels from France were admitted yearly. 'The Spanish ports opened for the Louisiana trade were Seville, Alicante, Carthagena, Malaga, Barcelona and Coruna. Clandestine commerce was carried on with British traders along the Mississippi. A license or passport was necessary in order that this trade be legal, but General O'Reilly's successor, Governor Unzaga more or less winked at this secret intercourse of trade.⁵⁵

It will be noteworthy to dwell in passing upon the religious life and atmosphere of early New Orleans. Louisiana was a thoroughly Catholic colony. Its population comprised French, Spanish, and many Acadians who had arrived in New Orleans between January and May, 1765.⁵⁶ The spiritual needs of the colony at General O'Reilly's arrival were being attended to by Father Dagobert, a Capuchin. His character is brought out in a letter by O'Reilly, who recommended him for the colony. Up to the time of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, the Capuchins and Jesuits had been working for the spiritual interests of the people. In 1766 Father Hilaire de Geneveaux, superior of the Capuchins and Vicar General of the Province, was expelled by order of the Superior Council, because he did not show favor towards the insurrection. Father Dagobert became his successor. Father Cyril of Barcelona arrived in New Orleans in July, 1772, with four other Capuchins. He had been commissioned by the Bishop of Cuba, Don Santiago de Echevarria, who held jurisdiction over the province of Louisiana to look into the spiritual affairs of the Province. He was well received by the Governor and people of New Orleans. His investigations did not act favorably for Father Dagobert, although the

⁵⁴Fortier, Alcée, *op. cit.*, 10. Another date of his death is given as March 23, 1794.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 7, 8, 11.

⁵⁶Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 121, 122.

latter was held in high esteem by Governor Unzaga. Governor Unzaga speaks of the religious leaders of the New Orleans community in a letter to Bishop Echevarria, as follows: "All these friars are excellent men and set a good example, but among them are some who are well informed, and others scarcely instructed as to the duties of their sacred calling; all, however, labor zealously to the best of their abilities and knowledge, and they are familiar with the great poverty and destitution of their parishioners."⁵⁷

The controversy between Fathers Cyril and Dagobert continued until the year 1773. Father Cyril later became the first Bishop of Louisiana in 1793, establishing his See in New Orleans.⁵⁸ The records of the baptisms of at least three of Oliver Pollock's children, born in New Orleans, have his signature affixed to them.

These are the conditions which existed in New Orleans prior to the American Revolution. Oliver Pollock, in his *Memorial and Petition* to Congress in 1813 mentions that, for many years before and after 1776, he enjoyed "an unlimited credit in the mercantile world."⁵⁹ His business interests and trading pursuits "gave him an elevation and opened prosperity as flattering as his most sanguinary hopes could have desired."⁶⁰

⁵⁷Fortier, *op. cit.*, 12-16, for a description of this controversy.

⁵⁸*Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Sieni," XIII, 782.

⁵⁹Pollock, Oliver, *Memorial and Petition of Oliver Pollock to the Honorable, the Senate, and the House of Representatives*. (Washington, 1813), 2.

⁶⁰James, James A., "Oliver Pollock, The Financier of the Revolution in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 68.

CHAPTER II

COMMERCIAL AGENT IN NEW ORLEANS (1777-1783)

During Oliver Pollock's stay in New Orleans from 1768 to 1776, he had accumulated for himself a large amount of wealth and property. His business transactions were known in the commercial centers of Europe and America. His bond was acknowledged by the leading trading houses of the two continents, and he enjoyed a personal respectability both at home and abroad. The future held in store for him everything that a man could desire in the way of material happiness.¹

The news of the Colonies' declaration that they were free and independent had no sooner reached New Orleans than he threw in his lot with the American cause. It is to be remembered that up to this time he had spent only two years of his life in the Colonies. These were the years, 1760 to 1762, when he lived in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His own words are a living testimony to his spirit of patriotism. In a letter written to the Continental Congress from Philadelphia, September 18, 1782, Pollock remarks:

I have the pleasure to reflect that from the beginning to the end, I was deaf to every motive except an ardent affection for our righteous Cause. And that, having expended my life in the service of my Country, the principal regret I feel, arises from this Reflexion, that I am deprived of the means to show that my ardor is still unabated.

Near the close of the same letter, he describes in glowing terms the sincerity of his feelings for the cause of independence:

It has not been my Fortune to move on a splendid Theatre, where the weary Actor frequently finds in the Applause of his Audience, new motives to exertion. I dwelt in an obscure Corner of the Universe alone and unsupported; I have labored without ceasing, I have neglected the Road to affluence, I have exhausted my all and plunged myself deeply in Debt to support the cause of America. In the Hour of her distress and when those who called themselves Friends were Daily deserting her. But those things I do not boast, of what I do boast is that I

¹Hayden, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of Carlisle, Pa.*, (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883), 11.

have a Heart still ready (had I the means) to bear sufferings and make new Sacrifices.²

A *Memorial to Virginia* in 1811 contains the following sentiments :

His soul panted for the success of the American arms, nor could he omit any opportunity of manifesting the sincerity and ardor of those feelings when it was in his power to be useful either to the public interest or to any of the individuals who had embarked their fortunes and lives in an enterprise so hazardous and so glorious.³

This same sympathetic and unselfish spirit is attested by others. On the occasion of Oliver Pollock's introduction to Bernardo de Galvez, when the latter was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1777, Louis Unzaga, the retiring Governor, spoke thus :

If the court of Spain was going to take part with Great Britain, Oliver Pollock should not remain in the country twenty-four hours, but if the reverse, that they were going to part with France, Oliver Pollock was the only man in the colony that he could confide in, meaning as an English merchant.⁴

At a time when Pollock was hard pressed by his creditors for debts contracted in the name of the United States' Government, Galvez recommended Pollock's claim in a letter dated May 1, 1785 :

I certify that Oliver Pollock, Esquire, agent of the Commerce of the United States, had resided in this capacity in the province of Louisiana while I was Governor-General of the same and that he acted in favor of the soldiers and citizens of his own nation with all the zeal and love which becomes the true patriot, supplying them with provisions and assisting them whenever they wanted it, with his own credit or with ready money, the Congress bills not being current here ; in all which he neither spared pains nor trouble to obtain the end which he proposed for himself and to give assistance which lay in his power.

²*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folios 1, 11.

³James, James A., "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 68.

⁴Hayden, Horace E., "Oliver Pollock, His Connection with the Conquest of Illinois, 1778," *Magazine of American History*, XXII, 418. Cf. Hayden, *A Biographical Sketch*, etc., 8.

He obtained loans in the name of the United States and obtained seventy-nine thousand and eighty-seven dollars which are still owing. That in the expedition which I made against the forts of His Britannic Majesty on the Mississippi, he attended me in person until the surrender.

In witness thereof and to serve him as of right I ought, I have granted him this present certificate at the Havanno, the first day of May, one-thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

EL CONDE DE GALVEZ.⁵

In his *History of Louisiana*, Alcée Fortier assures us that "among the merchants (of New Orleans) the most zealous for the cause of the English colonists, was Oliver Pollock."⁶

Thomas Jefferson and Robert Morris may be mentioned among many others who have borne witness to Pollock's patriotism.⁷

1. COMMERCIAL AGENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN NEW ORLEANS

The first act of Oliver Pollock in favor of the American cause occurred in April of the year 1776. The British had commenced their operations in the South against the rebellious colonies by confiscating American ships in the Mississippi. On this occasion Pollock had received information that a British man of war was approaching to seize American vessels. His spirit for the cause of independence immediately aroused itself, and he made application to Governor Unzaga "to take these several American vessels under the protection of his Guns . . . on the principle that these vessels were in a neutral Port and entitled to the rights of Neutrality."⁸ His plea was unavailing, however, for the ships were seized, brought to Pensacola, and confiscated as English property.⁹

On July 19 of the same year, Captain George Gibson of the Virginia Company, accompanied by sixteen companions, among whom was Lieutenant Linn, all supposed traders, set out from Fort Pitt to win the aid and support of Unzaga. They arrived in New Orleans during the month of August. Captain Gibson carried

⁵Downing, Margaret B., "Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 204.

⁶Fortier, Alcée, *History of Louisiana*, (New York, 1904), III, 18, 19; Cf. Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana*, (New Orleans, 1903), III, 100.

⁷Downing, *loc. cit.*, 205; Cf. Papers of Continental Congress, No. 50, folios 17-19.

⁸*Ibid.*, No. 50, folio 1.

⁹James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 70.

on his person "dispatches" from the Virginia Committee of Safety, and from General Charles Lee, second in command of the Continental Army. After pointing out the necessity of having recourse to the Spanish Governor for assistance, the dispatches related the advantages that would accrue both to Virginia and to Spain by a mutual intercourse of trade, and the benefit that the Spanish possessions would receive by having as their neighbors friendly Americans rather than the hated British.¹⁰

Upon the company's arrival in New Orleans, they were received by Pollock who translated their letters, provided suitable accommodations, and saw to it that the party was hidden from the prying eyes of the numerous English spies in the city. Pollock brought the letters in person to Governor Unzaga and prevailed upon the Governor to grant a "batteaux" load of the King's powder to the amount of 10,000 pounds to Captain Gibson, for which Pollock paid \$1,800. This change of attitude on Unzaga's part was due, as Pollock states, to the announcement that the Colonies had openly made their Declaration of Independence as conveyed by Gibson. Pollock thereupon "purchased, fitted out and dispatched" a vessel, loaded it with 9,000 pounds of the powder, and on September 22, 1776 sent Lieutenant Linn with forty-three men up the Mississippi. The band passed the winter at the Arkansas Post, and in the early Spring proceeded to Wheeling and Fort Pitt, after the purchase of meat and other provisions, procured on the credit of Pollock to the amount of \$1,200. To Pollock's great satisfaction, this shipment "not only arrived in safety but was a very signal and seasonable supply."¹¹

In the interim, Captain Gibson had been imprisoned at the command of Unzaga in order to quiet the suspicions of the British, who were becoming aroused by the activities of Pollock. Gibson, however, was permitted to proceed to Philadelphia, in October in a vessel fitted out by Pollock. The remains of the powder were carefully stored away in concealed packages. Gibson's companions were Captain George Ord, whose vessel had been previously seized by the British, and Captain Bethel. Gibson bore with him a letter

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 67.

¹¹James, James A., "Spanish Influence in the West During the American Revolution," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IV, 196.

from Pollock to the Virginia Council of Safety, while Ord carried a communication to a committee of Congress, of which Robert Morris was a member. Both letters concluded with the words :

Permit me therefore to make tender of my hearty Services and to assure you that my Conduct shall ever be such as to merit Confidence and Approbation of the Country to whom I owe everything but my birth.¹²

Concerning these exents, Pollock later wrote :

My Eagerness to seize every Opportunity of serving my Country had led me into such frequent importunities to Governor Unzaga, that I had just reason to fear his displeasure.¹³

Pollock, however, as long as he remained in New Orleans was held in the highest estimation not only by Unzaga but also by Governors Galvez and Miro, as future events will tend to show.

Pollock's position of Commercial Agent of the United States and Virginia in New Orleans demanded the solution of problems of a diplomatic nature. The neutrality of Spain and France in relation to the shipping of goods to foreign ports, the policy of Spain towards the American Revolution and the friendly attitude of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana were to be considered, in order to achieve success in his position as fiscal agent of the American Colonies.¹⁴

Spain's attitude towards the American Revolution changed with the political situations of the times. Although she kept on friendly terms with the Colonies, her own interests were always at stake. On June 27, 1776, she lent to the American Government, under the influence of Vergennes, the sum of 1,000,000 francs. This loan was kept a secret for a year before coming to the knowledge of England. It was her desire to keep the Colonies at swords' point with their mother country, and hence turn English attention from Spain and her provinces in America.

When the Colonies threw off the yoke of England, Spain's policy also changed. She seemed to lose all interest in the American cause, "for she feared the influence on her own colonists of

¹²James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 71.

¹³*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 2.

¹⁴Downing, *loc. cit.*, 203.

an example of successful revolt." Hence, she placed obstacles in the path of every American advance.

In 1779, Spain declared war on England, and once again a change is noted in her policy. She saw in the United States an ally who would aid her in crushing the power of England on the seas, and thus gain for herself the glory that once was hers. American ministers in Spain were not warmly received, due perhaps to the fact that she still looked upon the Revolution as a dangerous example to her own immense and valuable possessions in the new world. She saw in this war a glorious opportunity of avenging past wrongs and of acquiring added territory at the expense of England, or even of the United States.¹⁵

The English in North America were likewise a source of trouble to the Spanish Governors of Louisiana. Although England and Spain enjoyed the right of free navigation in the Mississippi, the English fur traders and merchants were amassing large fortunes at the expense of the Spanish commerce. In 1770 a dispute over the Falkland Islands almost led to war which was averted when Spain acceded to England's wishes. General Gage had been ordered to mobilize troops for the seizure of New Orleans, and in 1771 militia was enlisted in New York for this purpose. The British merchants strove for trade supremacy in the Mississippi valley, while English vessels from Manchac and Baton Rouge carried on secret trade without the Governor's permission with Spanish planters. In New Orleans, the English traders from the Illinois country sold their peltries at higher prices and exported them to France. England saw that without an outlet for their goods, this vast country would be useless to her.¹⁶

Governor Unzaga viewed the commercial ascendancy of English merchants with alarm. He clamored for more ample means of defense for Louisiana and Mexico. In a letter to the Court of Madrid, dated June 19, 1776, he speaks against the inadequate protection of a country more than fifteen hundred miles in extent. The ammunition and fortifications were insufficient to ward off an attack of the enemy.¹⁷

¹⁵McCarthy, Charles H., "The Attitude of Spain During the American Revolution," *Catholic Historical Review*, II, 50-52.

¹⁶James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 193, 194.

¹⁷Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 100-102.

It was, however, left to Unzaga's successor, Governor Bernardo de Galvez, to put plans of fortification into effect and to make the territory of Louisiana a successful royal enterprise. Forts were erected on opposite shores of the Mississippi. Duties on exports were lowered, and free trade allowed with the ports of Spain and the United States. To offset British influence, it was decided that trade be established between the French West Indies and Louisiana, provided that two French commissioners be present in New Orleans, through whose hands all goods exported to these islands had to pass.

The settlement of Louisiana for the purpose of cultivating the planting of tobacco was encouraged by the king, who directed Major Cruzat at St. Louis to induce Canadian and other immigrants to build their homes in the Spanish province. A plot of ground, necessary agricultural utensils and the first year's supply of tobacco were allotted to them. The sum of \$40,000 was appropriated from the Spanish treasury for this purpose.¹⁸

It redounds to the credit of the Spanish Governors, that, although they were cognizant of their country's attitudes towards the American Revolution, they aided the American cause in no small way. Galvez was especially generous not only in lending money, ammunition, and provisions for the defense of the frontier, but also in effectively protecting American commerce and ships from British seizure and confiscation.¹⁹

The "energetic and ambitious" Galvez succeeded Unzaga, as Provisional Governor of Louisiana on February 1, 1777. He was then only twenty-one years of age and had held the position of Colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana. His father was Viceroy of Mexico and his uncle Jose de Galvez, Secretary of State in Spain, and President of the Council of the Indies. Galvez's term of office was to be profitable both to Spain and to the United States.²⁰

In introducing Pollock to Galvez, the retiring Governor spoke of Pollock as a "faithful and zealous American, in whom he might place implicit confidence."²¹ The bond of friendship which united

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 105-108; Cf. James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 199.

¹⁹Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 109; Hayden, *op. cit.*, 8, James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 197.

²⁰Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 105.

²¹James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 71.

Pollock and Galvez dates from that time. Writing of Galvez's service to the United States, Pollock says: "That worthy gentleman immediately made me a tender of his Services, and gave me the delightful assurance that he would go every possible length for the Interest of Congress. I should be guilty of injustice did I not declare that this generous promise was honorably fulfilled."²²

The first instance of the assistance of Galvez came as a result of the seizure of an American schooner "in the Lakes by the British." Galvez ordered all British vessels between the Balizo and Manchac to be seized and confiscated. New Orleans was declared a free port for American commerce and for the sale of American prizes.²³ Pollock at once dispatched a vessel under the command of an American officer, Captain La Mere, to Philadelphia: "to inform Congress of the Governor's favorable disposition, and of his assurance that the Port of New Orleans should be open and free to American Commerce and the admission and sale of Prizes made by their Cruisers."²⁴

Governor Galvez heeded the appeals for aid by sending up the Mississippi River ammunition and provisions under the protection of the Spanish flag. During the month of July, 1777, two thousand pounds of gunpowder, a quantity of lead, and a large amount of clothing were deposited in New Orleans to the order of Virginia. At the end of the year Galvez had furnished money and supplies for the American cause to the amount of \$70,000. In return, he asked aid of the American Government in the capture of Pensacola, should war ensue between England and Spain. Pollock suggested urgent action by the American government in sending blank commissions for the enlisting of troops in New Orleans. Realizing that Pollock was the leading factor behind Galvez's schemes, the English Governor of West Florida demanded the surrender of Pollock, but Galvez refused to hand him over.²⁵

Pollock's reputation as a patriot and financier was known beyond the borders of Louisiana. Although there were in New Orleans many merchants from Philadelphia, New York and Bos-

²²*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 2. James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 197.

²³Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 107.

²⁴*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 2.

²⁵James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 197; XVI, 71.

ton who were in sympathy with the cause of the Colonies and who dispatched aid to the settlers along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, Pollock's activities had been the most energetic.²⁶ When it came time to have a commissioner appointed in the main Spanish port of the South, the choice of the Secret Committee of Congress fell on Oliver Pollock. This appointment took place in secret session at Philadelphia, June 12, 1777:

The good disposition which you discover to our Cause and and the Character you bear, has determined us to employ you as our commercial Agent in New Orleans, in full Confidence that your Conduct of our Affairs will be such as to entitle you to our Approbation and future Favors; and should it at any Time be your Misfortune to fall into the hands of our Enemies as you have suggested, you have Liberty to claim the Protection of the United States of America as their commercial Agent resident at New Orleans, and may depend that Congress will redeem you by Exchange or retaliate any Injuries or Indignities that may be offered you, and they have always a sufficiency of Prisoners in their power to do this with Effect, if our Enemies dare to treat ill those persons that are entitled to our Protection.²⁷

It was an appointment of deep significance both to Oliver Pollock and to the United States. It contained promises, which, sad to state, were not fulfilled, and will bring to light the character of a man, who was ever faithful to his duty, and, who, despite all reverses and disappointments of an economic nature, still persisted in his endeavors to aid the cause of liberty when his home and family, money and slaves were wrenched from his hands by the creditors of a government which had neither the means, and, it appears, nor the will to pay them. In the years that were to follow, Oliver Pollock never handled one cent of the public money, although he spent to the credit of the United States government and Virginia upwards of \$300,000.²⁸

The Committee, before closing the report of his appointment, directed Pollock to ship immediately forty to fifty thousand dollars worth of "blankets, shrouds and other dry staples" for the army.

²⁶Fortier, *op. cit.*, III, 18, 19.

²⁷*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folios 29, 30; Cf., Downing *loc. cit.*, 197.

²⁸Hayden, *op. cit.*, 11.

Directions were also given for the conveyance and protection of the cargo. Thirty thousand dollars in drafts were sent in part payment for this cargo, with the promise of a shipload of flour to defray the remaining expenses.

On October 24, the Secret Committee which was in session at York, Pennsylvania, sent a reply to Pollock's note which had been conveyed to Congress by Captain Pickles, concerning the stores which had arrived in New Orleans from Spain, and were now awaiting shipment:

We are very anxious to get them soon and safe to this part of America, where they will be much wanted and would be very useful. We have had in contemplation ordering them up the Mississippi to Fort Pitt, but the length of time that would require, the heavy expense and the danger of robbery has deterred us. Therefore we must trust them round by sea, and for this purpose we desire you will charter or purchase suitable vessels to bring the whole.

The committee confirms Pollock's appointment and authority, but they regret their inability to supply him with the necessary flour, because the "enemies ships of war are so numerous as to block effectively at present all entries to these ports from whence this article can be exported."²⁹

Captain James Willing, U. S. N., was entrusted with the mission of conveying to Pollock his letter of appointment. Early in January, 1777, he set out from Fort Pitt in an armed vessel, accompanied by twenty-nine men. News of his approach reached New Orleans in February, when Lieutenant Thomas McIntyre arrived with a dispatch for Pollock. The latter describes the approach of Willing's party and speaks of this mark of esteem conferred on him by Congress in his letter of September 18, 1782:

In February, 1778, I received intelligence of Capt. Willing's approach, and immediately I waited on his Excellency the Governor and took every necessary arrangement with him. I then laid a plan for taking a British Letter of Marque of sixteen Guns lying then in the River, sent off all proper Intelligence to Capt. Willing and dispatch'd my Nephew Thomas Pollock with fifteen Volunteers and Capt. La Fitte with twenty-six armed men to his assistance. On the third of March

²⁹Downing, *loc. cit.*, 197-199.

Lieut. McIntyre brought the Dispatches which had been entrusted to Capt. Willing and gave me agreeable intelligence that he had (with ten men) surprised and taken the Letter of Marque. At ten o'clock I sent him off with his Party in pursuit of other British Vessels which had gone down the River one of which they captured. The Dispatches brought by Capt. Willing contain'd the appointment of Agent which Congress had been pleased to confer. This Honourable Mark of their favor formed in my Bosom a new Bond of Duty, and became an additional Spring to actuate my Conduct. I was therefore extremely solicitous to comply with the Orders I had received from The Honorable Mr. Laurens, Mr. Morris and Mr. Smith, a Secret Committee of Congress.³⁰

Willing, the year previously, had won over the inhabitants of Baton Rouge and Natchez to his side by his visits to the homes of the inhabitants of these places. Little did they realize, however, that they were later to become the prey to his predatory instincts, for their homes were burnt, their lands and property confiscated, and the inhabitants themselves forced to take refuge in Louisiana. This wanton conduct on the part of Willing provoked the residents of Louisiana against him, and caused Governor Galvez to fear lest the Americans would interfere with his own designs, for in case of conflict between Great Britain and Spain, he had planned on the capture of the surrounding country belonging to England in the name of His Catholic Majesty. The American forces, however, were unable to hold the country, and the British again took possession when the Americans left.³¹

During the month of July, Pollock sent a cargo up the Mississippi, headed for the Western frontier under the command of Captain Cannon. After the cargo had left New Orleans, Pollock ordered its return on account of a report received that Robert Ross and John Campbell had communicated this information to the English. These two men were later arrested and imprisoned by order of Governor Galvez.

Concerning this incident, Pollock writes: "But I have since had reason to believe that in obeying the dictates of my duty in this

³⁰*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio, 3.

³¹McCarthy, *loc. cit.*, 59; Cf. James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 205, and Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 113, 114.

instance, I have occasioned to myself some personal disadvantages."³²

The British did not allow Willing's affront to escape without a show of arms. In April three armed British sloops appeared at New Orleans to demand the deliverance of all Americans in the city together with their prizes. Galvez met the expedition in person, and they were forced to leave as they came. Pollock wrote to the Commission of Congress: "In this situation, he (Galvez) laughed at their Haughtiness and despised their Attempts and in short they returned as they came."³³

Pollock wrote to Congress that he intended to fit out the captured British sloop as a cruiser. He likewise informed them that he had sent up the river goods imported from Spain to the amount of \$25,062½, and goods supplied by himself to the amount of \$10,907. He pointed out the "necessity of making me considerable remittance or lodging a credit for me in Europe, that I might be able to execute my Orders with effect."³⁴

The Spanish Governor continued to aid the American cause by sending ammunitions and supplies up the Mississippi under the protection of the Spanish flag. The Governor of West Florida protested to these acts, but Galvez retaliated by forbidding Spanish subjects to transact business with any of the English merchants. As a result of this the French trade increased. Villars and Favre d'Aunoy could write July 18, 1788 "the whole trade of the Mississippi is now in our hands." Louisiana was placed on the same footing as the more favored colonies of Spain, and commercial relations were allowed with the ports of France. Duties on the exportation of furs and peltries were taken away, so that the colony began to enter an era of prosperity.³⁵

More goods were sent up the Mississippi by Pollock in May. The British, however, were beginning to regain their former positions on the river by an attack against Manchac and Baton Rouge. Pollock saw that this would prevent Captain Willing and his party ascending the river with supplies.³⁶

³²*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 5.

³³James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 205.

³⁴*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 3.

³⁵James, *loc. cit.*, IV, vii; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 116-118.

³⁶*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 5.

Willing's party remained in New Orleans until August when they were finally sent up the Mississippi through the Spanish settlements with great difficulty and expense on the part of Pollock, on whose shoulders the financial burden fell. He himself claimed: "Nothing but his unwearied efforts to surmount a variety of obstacles could possibly have enabled them to return in safety."³⁷

During the same month Pollock wrote Congress that he had been compelled "to honor \$6,000 of the Government and that, if supplies were not granted to me, I was without Resources to perform my Engagements." Another misfortune almost ruined him. He complains that Stephen Ceronie, the United States Agent at Cape Francis, "had seized and converted to his use" peltries belonging to Pollock to the amount of \$14,445. The reason for this seizure was that the United States was indebted to Ceronie and the peltries were shipped by Pollock, who was the American agent. Pollock says: "This was the first reward for serving America and I am compelled to add that I have never yet been able to obtain any satisfaction for that seizure."³⁸

During the month of December, Pollock freighted a vessel for Havana to take on a cargo for the United States. In a letter sent with the vessel, he remarked: "I stated my distress for the want of remittances which were becoming so great as to Oblige me to Sell off some of my Slaves at considerable Loss to fulfill my engagements."³⁹

The year 1779 witnessed Pollock in the rôle of a soldier, who with several other Americans, carried the American flag in battle between Spanish and English. Before these events took place, he had made earnest requests to Congress during the months of February and May for replies to his letters of 1778. Financial embarrassments were pressing him on every side. The flour promised by Congress did not arrive. Despite these reverses, he continued to carry on his work as a faithful agent of the government.⁴⁰

Hostilities between Spain and England broke out in June, when Spain called her ambassador from the English Court. Spain

³⁷*Ibid.*, folio 5. This expedition was commanded by Lieutenant Robert George Willing who was captain at Mobile.

³⁸*Ibid.*, folio 5, 6.

³⁹*Ibid.*, folio 6.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, folio 8.

had advised the Spanish Governor (Galvez) to attack the English possessions "on the grounds that England had sought to indemnify herself for territorial losses by encroachments upon Spanish possessions and by inciting the Indians of the Floridas." Galvez had been preparing for such an outbreak by his fortifications of New Orleans and by well formed plans for an attack upon the English posts.⁴¹

England had likewise seen the advantages of reducing Spanish influence in the South. If her armies were to meet with success, it was necessary that the source of supplies to American soldiers should be cut off at their base. Hence it was her intention to anticipate Spain's attack by a combined expedition of her southern and northern forces against New Orleans. General Haldimand in Canada was instructed by Lord George Germaine to seize St. Louis and the Spanish Forts along the Mississippi. In the meanwhile, General Campbell who was in charge of the British troops in West Florida was to come up the Mississippi River with a fleet and army to meet the Indians from the North. An attack would then be launched upon lower Louisiana.⁴²

Galvez, however, was not to be outdone. He saved the day for Spain by taking the offensive before the British could concentrate their forces. Adversity, however, struck him a severe blow. His council advocated only defensive measures, while a hurricane dispersed and sunk his ships. Despite these setbacks, however, he called the people together, informed them of his appointment as Governor of Louisiana, July 8, 1779, and rallied them to his side. He gathered another fleet and an army as best he could. Among the troops who enrolled themselves against the British were ten Americans, including Oliver Pollock. The forts of Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez fell in quick succession, almost without loss of life.⁴³ Pollock states that the Americans carried the flag of their country into battle. He was offered a commission of Colonel in the army by Galvez, but, concerning this offer, he says:

I felt it my duty to decline this Offer, the feeble services,

⁴¹Phelps, *Louisiana*, (New York, 1905), 141.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 143; Cf. C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution (American Nation Series*, ed. by A. B. Hart), 285-286.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 144, 145; Cf. Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 122-132 for an account of this expedition.

which, with nine Brother Americans, I had been able to render, were under the Banners of America. We took them with us into the Field. I made however my request to Congress at this time that they would give me their permission to serve in a Military line as one of their Officers.⁴⁴

Mobile fell before Galvez's army in March 1780, and in the following May, Pensacola surrendered after a display of bravery and courage on the part of the young Spanish commander.⁴⁵

Pollock manifested his interest in the American cause by buying and fitting out a cruiser for the capture of the British ship the *West Florida* that had been controlling Lake Pontchartrain since 1778. Captain William Pickles of the American navy was placed in command. His sloop was smaller in structure and contained fewer guns, yet he succeeded in overhauling the *West Florida*, and thus end British domination of the Lake. Although the *West Florida* was equipped with guns, its supply of powder had become low, so that Pollock was forced to intercede with Galvez for an additional five hundred pounds. Galvez, in return, requested Pollock to have the *West Florida* cruise on the Lake for the protection of the trade. The latter consented to Galvez's request, and Captain Pickles controlled Lake Pontchartrain until January, 1780, when he was sent to join the Spanish forces that were to attack Mobile and Pensacola. The country around the Lake was claimed by Pickles in behalf of the United States.⁴⁶ The letters of capitulation were written by Pollock himself, who notes: "I conceived this Capitulation to be a proper Ground on which to claim at any convenient Period the Sovereignty of the Soil and the Allegiance of the Inhabitants."⁴⁷

The following letter of Pollock to Captain Pickles is indicative of the former's zeal for the cause of independence:

New Orleans, January 20, 1780.

Dear Sir: You are now appointed commander of the sloop, *West Florida*, belonging to the United States of America, all ready dispatched with a sufficiency of provisions on board for

⁴⁴*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folios 8, 9.

⁴⁵Gayarre, *op. cit.*, 135-145; Cf. McCarthy, *loc. cit.*, 60-64.

⁴⁶Hayden, *op. cit.*, 8, 9.

⁴⁷*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 9.

60 days, for your crew consisting of 58 men, as you will see by the enclosed account. In consequence you will make all possible dispatch with the said vessel and crew under your command for Ship Island, where I expect you will meet with Gov. Galvez's fleet, for which you have herewith enclosed the signals agreed upon betwixt him and you; at which place you will join him and proceed against Mobile and Pensacola and give all assistance in your power to Galvez, and the Commander-in-chief of the Spanish fleet, for the reducing of those places for the space of 20 days or longer, if necessary, as requested by the Commander-in-chief of the Spanish fleet; after which should you be in want of provisions, you will deliver my letter to Don Bazilio Xemenez, or the commissary general of the Spanish fleet or any who will furnish you with what you may think necessary for your voyage, and then you will proceed to Havana, and there deliver my letter to Monsieur Geronimo Zacheapella, who I expect will ship a cargo of tafia and sugar on board your vessel to the amount of two or three thousand dollars, for the account of the United States, which you will receive on board and proceed immediately for the port of Philadelphia, or any other port on the continent you may think most safe from the enemy. For your part on that point you must procure the best intelligence possible at Havana and proceed accordingly.

And should it so happen that Mr. Geronimo is not there or cannot supply you with the above cargo and the necessaries for your vessel, in that case you must apply to His Excellency Gov. Novarro or any other person you can procure it from, for which you will draw on me, at as large a sight as you can, and I will do honor to your drafts, but as you know my situation of this you must be as tender as possible, particularly if you find there have been no vessels with flour from the continent touching Havana for this place.

Should you succeed in taking any vessels from the enemy that will suit you better for the voyage than the sloop either at Mobile or Pensacola or on the way, you will dispose of said sloop to the best advantage and slip your men aboard the captured vessel and proceed with your voyage in her as already directed and keep a journal of the expedition and siege against Pensacola, which you will lay before Congress, with my letter to them on your arrival there.

Your experience and good judgment must govern you entirely respecting your attacking any of the enemy's ships or vessels. Not in the least doubting your care and zeal for the lives of your good officers and men and the property of the

United States, I conclude, wishing you success and a safe and happy voyage.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

OLIVER POLLOCK.

To Captain William Pickles.

Postscript: Should anything turn up in your passage that may appear to you more advantageous than touching at Havana, you have liberty to proceed direct from Mobile or Pensacola to the Continent.⁴⁸

The West Florida joined the fleet at Mobile, but a severe storm, which arose suddenly, scattered the fleet. Capt. Pickles was forced to take refuge in Havana. The West Florida rejoined the fleet at Mobile in March and aided in the capture of that town and Pensacola. Captain Pickles sailed from thence to Philadelphia where the ship was repaired to bring the American ambassador, Laurens, to Holland. Captain Pickles was later killed in Philadelphia and his murderer hung.⁴⁹

Congress, however, was not so faithful in fulfilling its obligations to its Commercial Agent at New Orleans. On July 19, 1779, Pollock was directed by the Commercial Committee to ship the flour, which was to arrive from Havana, as quickly as possible to Philadelphia. His claims were recognized by the Secret Committee but they lamented their inability to fulfill their pledges. They excused themselves on the ground that the new members were inexperienced, they were forced to flee from Philadelphia when the British captured that city, and the papers were disarranged as a result of their hasty departure. The flour promised to Pollock was not forthcoming on account of bad crops and the English blockade of the harbors. American currency likewise suffered a severe blow, so that by 1780 the treasury was practically empty.⁵⁰

The year 1780 found Pollock in straitened circumstances. His expenditures not only for the Continental army but likewise for the State of Virginia and George Rogers Clark expedition had left him penniless. He had made constant appeals to Gov. Galvez, but that noble officer could not now afford to give pecuniary aid as he had previously done. The British were taking up his time and attention,

⁴⁸Hayden, *op. cit.*, 9, 10.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁰Downing, *loc. cit.*, 199.

and hence all of his resources were needed for the success of the Spanish colony's warfare. It is to no discredit of Galvez that he refused Pollock's appeal of assistance at this time.⁵¹

During the month of May, Pollock had read in the Pennsylvania papers of the robbery of a certain John Whitzel by Daniel Callaghan, who had fled in the direction of Louisiana. Pollock had the robber apprehended and secured from him \$19,995½, which he delivered to the order of Congress.⁵²

Continental money had found its way to New Orleans and was beginning to be used as a means of exchange. This money was offered to Pollock as the public agent of the government. To support its credit, which otherwise would have been ruined by its non-acceptance, he was forced to receive and exchange it for specie, wherever he went. As a result of this, he says: "I became possessed of \$8,470., these not being current in that place, I sealed up and have them now in my possession."⁵³

Pollock later requested the loan of \$40,000 from his friend Bernardo de Ottero, the Spanish Contador or Comptroller of New Orleans, in order to deliver himself from his creditors.⁵⁴

The continual demands made by Congress and Virginia for arms, clothing and provisions, without sufficient funds, had drained Pollock's resources to such an extent that he was forced to sell plantations and slaves, and even mortgage a part of his own estate. Congress, in December 1779, empowered the new Commercial Committee to send remittances to Pollock, but they were powerless to act at this time.⁵⁵ When no relief reached him, Pollock decided to go in person to the Continental Congress and Virginia to make his petition. Before departing the territory of Louisiana, however, he was obliged to produce a hostage in the person of Thomas Patterson, a respectable American citizen of New Orleans. His family in the meanwhile was left behind destitute, to live as best they could on the charity of friends.⁵⁶

Pollock departed New Orleans for Havana. While there, he

⁵¹Hayden, *op. cit.*, 12.

⁵²*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 10.

⁵³*Ibid.*, folio 10.

⁵⁴*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 10.

⁵⁵James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 74, 75.

⁵⁶Downing, *loc. cit.*, 201.

was influential in obtaining the permission of the Spanish Governor of Cuba to allow several American vessels to depart and to free those men who had been forcibly detained. "By a providential coincidence," he said, "these vessels arrived in safety during the most fatal Season which our Commerce has experienced." He himself came in one of them.⁵⁷

Pollock landed in Wilmington, North Carolina. From there he went to Philadelphia, where Congress was holding session. Congress, however, was powerless to accomplish anything in his favor. As a final refuge he turned his eyes towards Virginia, bearing with him a letter from Robert Morris who recommended the settlement of his claim. For months he begged the Assembly of that State to aid him in paying his debts, but his claim went unheeded.⁵⁸ "When I undertook the Agency of the United States and conceived it my Duty to Act for Virginia also, my credit was extensive, my fortune equal to 100,000 dollars. At this Date, my credit as a merchant is injured, my fortune annihilated, and my numerous family became Pensioners on the Bounty of my Friends."⁵⁹

On September 18, 1782, Pollock addressed a lengthy letter to Congress from Philadelphia, in which he outlined a list of his achievements as Commercial Agent of the United States and Virginia in New Orleans. Despite all reverses, he is still hopeful that Congress will heed his plight and come to his rescue. In conclusion, he states: "I pray your Excellency to submit this narrative to the Indulgence of Congress. I am in their Judgment, and in their Justice, I repose the fullest Confidence."⁶⁰

Although Congress was helpless, it was not oblivious to his appeals. It recognized the justice of his claims, together with the zeal of Pollock in furthering the cause of the Colonies. Whenever conditions made it possible, Pollock was to receive payment from the treasury of the government. Anxious to extricate himself from his financial problems, he was led to accept the position of Com-

⁵⁷Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 50, folio 11. Cf., *Memorial and Petition*, etc., 12, 13.

⁵⁸Downing, *loc. cit.*, 201.

⁵⁹James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 76.

⁶⁰*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 12.

mercial Agent of the United States at Havana. This appointment bears the date of June 2, 1783.⁶¹

Before accompanying Pollock to Havana, there remain to be seen his activities in relation to the George Rogers Clark expedition into the Northwest Territory, along with the policy which he advocated, concerning the free navigation of the Mississippi River.

2. NORTHWEST EXPEDITION

In order to appreciate the part played by Oliver Pollock in aiding George Rogers Clark in his conquest of the Northwest Territory from the English in 1778 and 1779, it is necessary to understand and appreciate in its true light the importance of this successful expedition. It is only within recent times that a study has been made of the value of Clark's campaign to the United States. In the days of the American Revolution the Northwest Territory or Illinois country, as it was sometimes called, extended northwest of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River. The conquest of this territory was one of the most potent factors in shaping the destiny of the American Republic. C. H. Van Tyne speaks of it in these words:

Few events have had a vaster influence upon the future of the nation than this expedition of Clark's. Not only did he secure the Western gate of the Republic, but he gained those western lands, the ownership of which greatly advanced the idea of union, since there was a possession in which all of the States were interested.⁶²

Temple Bodley, after years of study on the question, says:

We made our first stride to territorial greatness by securing the Revolutionary West. It laid the foundation for the Louisiana purchase, and of our later expansion to Mexico, the Pacific and beyond. It also yielded priceless benefits, entirely aside from territorial bigness. It gave the financially exhausted States a vast area of fertile lands in the Northwest territory, the anticipated value of which furnished them one basis of public credit and saved them from hopeless bankruptcy and continued dependence on France. The public

⁶¹Downing, *loc. cit.*, 201; Cf., James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 78.

⁶²C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, (American Nation Series, ed., by A. B. Hart), 284.

lands did more. At the critical time when the confederation was falling to pieces, those jointly owned lands furnished the intensely jealous States a soul needed bond of union.⁶³

Oliver Pollock also recognized the value of this priceless territory. In his *Memorial and Petition to Congress*, in 1813, he wrote:

It was owing to the aids furnished by your petitioner (Pollock) that the expedition was followed by such signal and permanent success as greatly to have enhanced the fame of the American arms and to have extended the Dominion of the United States over a tract of country forming one of their fairest regions and indispensable to the tranquillity and security of the western frontier.⁶⁴

It is not the purpose of this paper to go into detail concerning the expedition of George Rogers Clark. The services, which he rendered to the United States, were invaluable. His military genius and quick-thinking are admitted by historians to-day. The story of the capture of the posts of Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia has been well told. The nation owes a debt of gratitude to Clark, for, without his ability, the western boundaries of our great Republic might still be terminated at the Alleghanies.

The nation should also be grateful to men, such as Pollock, Vigo, Gabriel Cerré, and Father Gibault, all of whom lent assistance in order to bring success to Clark's campaign. All made a supreme sacrifice and became penniless by their patriotic efforts, so that to place the entire credit upon the head of one man is an injustice to the others.

The conditions under which Clark started out to subjugate the inhabitants of this vast wilderness must be reviewed if a clear idea of the part played by Oliver Pollock in this great expedition is to be gained. The George Rogers Clark expedition was primarily intended as a defensive step against the British and Indians, the latter of whom had been a constant thorn in the side of the frontiersmen by their frequent assaults. "During 1777, so many were the killed and disabled that it was said there were at the end of that year only 102 men left to defend the country."⁶⁵

⁶³Bodley, Temple, "The National Significance of George Rogers Clark," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI, 165.

⁶⁴Pollock, Oliver, *Memorial and Petition of Oliver Pollock, etc.*, (Washington, D. C., 1813), 5.

⁶⁵Bodley, Temple, *loc. cit.*, 171.

It was the well formed plan of Clark to strike at the root of the trouble by bringing the fighting into the enemy's country. Aggressive measures must be used if the peace and security of the Kentucky frontier were to be maintained. Clark realized that to attack the English in the open would be disastrous.⁶⁶ One such expedition under the command of General McIntosh had been a costly failure.⁶⁷ Secrecy became a necessity. To appeal to the Virginia Assembly (Clark recognized Virginia as the rightful claimant of this land) for aid would let the world know of his plans. There was only one course of action left open to him. He must implore the help of Governor Henry, who would back up his proposals, and have them confirmed at a later date by the ruling house of Virginia.⁶⁸

Pollock describes the circumstances under which he became recognized as the agent for supplying Clark:

But inasmuch as the strictest secrecy and most incommunicable confidence betwixt the leaders and advisers of the expedition were deemed to be absolutely indispensable to its success, great difficulty was felt respecting the means of raising the necessary supplies—the only direct and regular mode of obtaining which, was an official application from the Governor to the General Assembly,—but this course was manifestly incompatible with the requisite degree of secrecy. In this dilemma, the Governor, with the privity and advice of those with whom he consulted and under mutual pledges that they would all exert their right and well merited influence with the General Assembly to bestow its subsequent sanction on the measure and to provide for the reimbursement of the expenses to be incurred, determined upon his own responsibility, to authorize General Clark to proceed with his design, and to take up the requisite funds from the credit and resources of individuals confiding for their indemnity in the future sanction of the Legislature; your petitioner from his prominent situation as public agent at New Orleans, from the well known extent and ability of his credit and resources, and he may venture to say, also from the decided evidences already given of his public spirit and devotion to the common cause, was se-

⁶⁶Van Tyne, C. H., *op. cit.*, 281.

⁶⁷Bodley, Temple, *loc. cit.*, 174.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 167, 168.

lected as a fit person in point both of character and resources to be applied to for necessary advances.⁶⁹

Pollock's appointment came from the hands of Governor Henry without the confirmation of the General Assembly.⁷⁰

Clark relates that he little realized at the time the part to be played by Pollock in this expedition: "The short notice that I had of my destination, not more than ten days, having to settle my business in so short a time, I never thought of asking anything about it. I remember that His Excellency the Governor told me I could get what I wanted from Mr. Pollock."⁷¹

Clark was granted the munificent sum of 1200 pounds in Continental currency by Virginia to put his plan into execution; but it was not long before this money was exhausted. An army even in those days could not be fed, clothed and supplied with ammunitions on such a bounty for a long period of time.⁷² The financial burden of Clark's campaign was borne by Pollock, Francis Vigo, Father Gibault, and ten or twelve prominent French inhabitants of Illinois, among whom was Gabriel Cerré.⁷³

The news of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia reached New Orleans in August, 1778. This report was instrumental in bringing about the departure of Willing's party from that city.

No sooner had Kaskaskia fallen, than Clark began to issue bills of credit on Virginia for necessary supplies. These bills of credit came back to Pollock who honored them to the amount of \$8,500. Pollock himself was hard pressed for money, yet he says:

The heavy expenses of this party which remained here so long beyond the time expected and other advances I am in just now for the States, render it exceedingly inconvenient for me to pay your bills. But the Cause in which we are embarked urges me to strain every nerve and luckily, having a number of good Friends has hitherto enabled me to serve my country. In consequence of this, I have accepted your Bills, the holder of two of them happens to be one of my Friends and says he

⁶⁹Oliver Pollock, *Memorial and Petition*, etc., 4, 5.

⁷⁰James, James A., "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 76.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 73.

⁷²Bodley, Temple, *loc. cit.*, 173; Cf. Thompson, Joseph J., "A Chapter in Illinois Finances," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11, 74.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 74.

will not call on me before January, by which time I hope to be provided with Flour by the States or you to pay them. The others I must pay when due.⁷⁴

He had already informed Congress that he would be unable to pay his debts unless the flour promised arrived in time. As has already been seen, many were the promises made by this august body, but few of them indeed were fulfilled.

The State of Virginia had also drawn considerably on Pollock. In January, 1778, Pollock had been ordered by Governor Henry to draw bills on France to the value of \$65,000. To meet these drafts, Virginia had promised to ship to New Orleans large quantities of tobacco and flour, which were stored in various localities of the State. The traitor Arnold, however, had plundered these storehouses on his raids into Virginia, so that Pollock was left without means to meet his obligations. The bills were returned to him protested, and his property seized by his creditors.⁷⁵

Clark was clamoring for an additional \$5,000 in supplies for his soldiers. Five hundred pounds of powder were sent to meet his demands. Pollock likewise allowed Clark to take what he needed from a cargo of goods valued at \$7,200, which had been sent up the river. These boats under the protection of the Spanish flag slipped past the forts of Manchac and Natchez, which had been retaken by the English, and in eighty-five or ninety days arrived at St. Louis or the Illinois posts.⁷⁶

From September 1778 to January 1779, Pollock had ordered 700 pounds of powder to be brought up the Mississippi for Clark's aid. Clark was continuing to issue bills of credit on the State of Virginia. Continental currency began to circulate in the West, but the French merchants preferred the drafts, backed as they were by the government's agent in New Orleans. The amount of these bills of credit reached \$25,000. These were returned to New Orleans where Pollock was unable to honor them. The merchants demanded payment in silver, but Pollock, who had been doing his utmost to keep the Continental currency at par, could not support these bills. By February the bills under protest amounted to \$48,-

⁷⁴James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 73.

⁷⁵Hayden, *op. cit.*, 11.

⁷⁶James, *loc. cit.*, IV, 206; XVI, 74.

000, so that Pollock was forced to dispose of his slaves for the public works of New Orleans, for which he received \$10,000.⁷⁷ Pollock later complained: "that to pay these Bills I had made a disadvantageous contract for my remaining slaves and raised \$10,000 at 12½% Discount, notwithstanding which, I was extremely distressed to raise Moneys sufficient for discharging those Bills."⁷⁸

In April he was compelled to draw on Messrs. Delaps of Bordeaux, France, at ninety days sight for \$10,897 on credit of a cargo which had been shipped to their address. He requested Congress to take up these bills should the shipment not arrive.⁷⁹

Clark was cognizant of the state of Pollock's finances for he wrote to the latter at this time:

I am sorry to learn you have not been supplied with funds as Expected. Your protesting my late Bills has not surprised me. As I expected it, being surrounded by enemies (Mr. Hamilton and his Savages). Being Obligated for my own safety to lay in Considerable Stores, I was obliged to take every step I possibly could to procure them unwilling to use force.⁸⁰

The Commercial Committee in their letter of July 19, 1779, informed Pollock that they heard of the sums advanced by him for the Clark expedition and the State of Virginia. He was instructed to let the committee know of the accounts which he had drawn, but these are not to be confused with the accounts to the Congress.⁸¹ Pollock had exhausted his credit to such an extent that he was forced to mortgage part of his landed estate to meet an order of goods for Patrick Henry valued at \$10,000. "I have voluntarily by mortgaging part of my property for the payment at the latter end of this year, purchased a greater part of them from a Mr. Solomon. You have therefore Invoice and Bill of loading amounting to 10,029 I Real."⁸²

Virginia scrip and Continental currency had depreciated to such an extent that they were practically of no value. Conti-

⁷⁷James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 74; IV, 206, 207.

⁷⁸*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 7.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 10, 11.

⁸⁰James, "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the American Revolution in the West" in the *Irish Quarterly Review Studies*, (1929), XVIII, 643.

⁸¹Downing, *loc. cit.*, 200.

⁸²James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 75, IV, 207.

mental currency was valued at twelve cents on the dollar in the East, although it was kept at par in the West by the friends of the Americans, among whom was Pollock. Virginia's treasury was empty, her militia was practically unarmed, her soldiers were serving in other States, and the British were operating in the South. Confusion and disorder were rampant everywhere, so that it became practically an impossibility to support Pollock and other agents of the State.⁸³

During the year 1780 Pollock continued to forward powder and goods for Virginia, at the request of Todd, then Lieutenant Governor of the Illinois country. In May the Governor of Virginia told Pollock to draw on the firm of Penet de Costa and Co., agents of Virginia in France for \$65,814 "the amount of his disbursements for that State." The bills were drawn but the usual result was obtained. They came back to Pollock protested "producing thereby the addition of Damages to my other Distresses."⁸⁴ Pollock later declared that the agents proved themselves unfaithful and were guilty "as was charged by the state authorities of gross malversations of the funds entrusted to them."⁸⁵

General Clark's expenses for his expedition amounted to \$2,201,-392,831½ currency. He had drawn from Pollock from March 30, 1778 to November 19, 1779 the sum of \$50,804.76 in specie. The treasury of Virginia supplied him with \$54,772, whether in specie or not is not mentioned. If all this, as Hayden notes, was in specie, then the actual expenses of the Illinois campaign amounted to \$108,612.80. Pollock's accounts with the State of Virginia, including Clark's campaign, from September 1776 to August 1781 totaled \$91,497 in specie.⁸⁶

Virginia recognized and accepted Pollock's claims but found herself unable to meet his demands for payment. Clark himself was poverty stricken. Although the State of Virginia voted him many thousands of acres in the territory he had conquered, he was forced to yield these on the demands of the creditors of the

⁸³Bodley, *loc. cit.*, 177-181; Cf. James, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 75.

⁸⁴*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folio 9.

⁸⁵Pollock, *Memorial and Petition*, etc., 5.

⁸⁶Hayden, "Oliver Pollock, His Connection with the Conquest of Illinois, 1778," in *Magazine of American History*, XXII, 415, 416.

very State which had donated them to him. He could well write later in life :

I have given the United States half the territory they possess and for them to suffer me to remain in poverty in consequence of it, will not redound much to their honor hereafter.⁸⁷

Pollock petitioned the Virginia Assembly for months without result. As a final straw he appealed to Clark, hoping to find confirmation in this noble patriot's reply :

It may not be amiss to observe that before I could leave New Orleans or be permitted by my creditors to Depart this Country, I was obliged to sell my Dwelling House, Plantation, Slaves, Stock, Furniture, Store Goods and part of my wife's Domestick's, to distribute their proceeds among my much injured creditors—Creditors, Sir, made from the most virtuous motives, the desire of serving a Country I loved, in distress, in a Cause my Judgment approved. The feeling human Heart will readily Conceive the Anguish of My Tortured Soul, at parting with my wife and numerous family, Whom I reduced to Extreme misery and distress by unprudently giving these Tortures to serve a Country Whose Gratitude and Justice I had too much confidence in. I am too Conscious of the Rectitude of my Conduct, and feel too sensibly the sufferings which have arose from a Zeal, perhaps more warm than prudent, to apprehend a longer Delay of such Justice, to which Effort Sentiment from an Honest Heart must proclaim me entitled.

My fortune, which was respectable when you, Sir, by your address found the way to draw it from me, is now exhausted and I would be contented if it were not worse. I have extended my credit for the Service of Virginia and borrowed for the same purpose 100,000 dollars from different people at New Orleans, and now Sir, when I appeared here with my accounts in hopes of finding Government disposed to pay, and to pay me with gratitude, assurance of which I have had from you, I find they are as destitute of inclination as of the means of paying me. . .

Clark sent back the answer :

I am heartily sorry that you should meet with such disappointments in the settlement of your accounts. . . If I was worth the money I would most cheerfully pay it myself

⁸⁷Roselli, Bruno, *Francis Vigo* (Boston, 1933), 227.

and trust the State, But can assure you with truth I am entirely Reduced myself by advancing everything I could Raise.⁸⁸

Thus we shall have to leave Pollock to take up an important phase in the chapter of American History, a phase which will show Pollock in the role of a man of foresight and vision.

3. FREE NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The attitude of Spain towards the American Revolution has already been noted. In order to understand the question of the free navigation of the Mississippi River, concerning which Oliver Pollock was deeply interested, a study of Spain's policy toward the American Revolution is necessary. Although motivated by her own interests, nevertheless her aid to America was most valuable. She saw on the one hand an opportunity of gaining back Gibraltar and of attacking her enemy Portugal, who had formed an alliance with Great Britain, and on the other hand she knew that unless the contest between England and her Colonies across the seas was continued, her primary aim to crush England and to gain back her lost possessions could never be accomplished. Hence she aided the American cause by supplying ammunition, clothing and provisions from her leading trading houses. New Orleans was the principal port of entry for ships laden with Spanish wares, and once landed at this port, it was the duty of Oliver Pollock to see that they arrived in safety at their destination. A blockade of the Atlantic sea ports by English cruisers made shipping dangerous, so that the Mississippi River became the main route of travel from New Orleans.⁸⁹

No one understood better than did Oliver Pollock the value of the Mississippi River for commercial purposes. Prior to the year 1775, he had carried on large business transactions with St. Louis, Fort Pitt, and towns in the Northwest Territory. When the American Revolution had broken out, and he had cast his lot in favor of the American cause, it was his constant plea to Congress to send an expedition for the conquest of the British

⁸⁸James, *Studies*, 644, 645.

⁸⁹Phelps, *Louisiana* (Boston, 1905), 138, 139.

posts along the Mississippi River and the possession of West Florida. He well realized the advantages of the Western country to the future greatness of America, and the benefits to be derived from a free waterway on the Mississippi River. For six years he was adamant in his petitions to Congress to send an expedition for the capture of the English possessions in the West and South.⁹⁰

How great an influence his policy exercised on the members of Congress cannot be estimated, but that the free navigation of the Mississippi River presented itself as an obstacle to a treaty between Spain and America cannot be denied.⁹¹

In the early days of the American Revolution, Colonel George Morgan, stationed at Fort Pitt, suggested to Governor Galvez the use of New Orleans as a base of attack upon Mobile and Pensacola. The Spanish government had already informed Galvez that he could accept these possessions if offered by the United States government. At the same time Galvez was to assure the inhabitants of a kinder treatment under Spanish rule than under the rule of their rebellious neighbors. It was Florida Blanca's idea to confine the United States to the sea coast, Great Britain to the valley of the St. Lawrence, and Spain to the Mississippi valley, as far East as the Alleghanies.⁹² The Spanish Prime Minister feared lest an open policy, favorable to the American cause, would eventually lead to war between Great Britain and Spain. The latter was unprepared for such a conflict. The ambassador to the Spanish court was coldly received, although he was successful in securing ammunition and provisions for the Continental army. Lee was told by Grimaldi: "You have considered your own situation and not ours. The moment is not yet come for us. The war with Portugal—France being unprepared and our treasures from South America not being arrived—makes it improper for us to declare immediately. These reasons will probably cease within a year and then will be the moment."⁹³

On this side of the water, Patrick Henry pointed out to Galvez,

⁹⁰James, "Oliver Pollock and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX, 331.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 333 ss.

⁹²James, "Spanish Influence in the West During the American Revolution," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IV, 203.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 201.

that by the seizure of Pensacola and St. Augustine, the Spanish colonies could enjoy commercial freedom with the northern states.⁹⁴

Colonel David Rogers, special agent for Virginia wrote from New Orleans to Patrick Henry:

I am humbly of the opinion Congress ought immediately to send a sufficient force to retake Natchez and Manchac and capture Pensacola. They are of great importance to us and should a war break out with Spain and England, the former will immediately possess themselves of these posts and as far as England claims, which would be a prodigious loss to us. At the present communication that way is entirely shut up. Three hundred men would effectually do the business as we have many friends among them.⁹⁵

Oliver Pollock knew, as few of his time did, the value of the South and the West. On March 6, 1778, he communicated to Congress the necessity of establishing trading posts on the Mississippi. May the seventh, he urged Congress to send an expedition to seize Manchac, Natchez and Pensacola. The navigation of the Mississippi River would thus be secured, he argued, and the dangerous sea voyage up the coast would be avoided.⁹⁶ After Clark had gained a foothold in the Illinois country, Pollock urged him to continue his operations southwards. Clark, however, had to remain in the Northwest longer than Pollock anticipated, and when that country was eventually controlled by his troops, Spain, by the heroic efforts of Galvez had taken over the British posts along the Mississippi, together with West Florida.

Pollock wrote to Congress in 1779: "I cannot imagine what has deterred you from sending an expedition this way before now. As it surely must come sooner or later, I live in hopes as I make no doubt you know the value of West Florida too well to give it up by treaty or anywise to any power on earth."⁹⁷

In July he writes:

The inhabitants of Kentucky and Illinois country would have a free navigation to come down the river with their produce to this place, where there is a good market or at

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 202.

⁹⁵James, *loc. cit.*, XIX, 332.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 332.

⁹⁷*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, Letter of February 17, 1779.

our own establishments Manchac and Pensacola which will soon be preferable to this, as we can import our supplies of Goods immediately from Europe and dispatch them up to the back Settlements quicker than from here. This being done the Country would get completely settled and flourishing commerce immediately take place after the war.⁹⁸

Spain and even France were unwilling to have the United States' boundaries extend to the Mississippi. From the letters of the two French Commissioners in New Orleans, it appears that France was still hopeful of securing some of her lost possessions in America.⁹⁹ C. H. Van Tyne observes that Spain "united with France solely for her own interests, refusing to acknowledge America's independence or make a treaty with her except on the condition of her yielding to Spain the possession of the East bank of the Mississippi and the exclusive navigation of the river."¹⁰⁰

Politics played an important role in the attempt of the United States to negotiate a treaty with Spain. Jay, who had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain for this purpose, was instructed by Congress to yield the question concerning the possession of West Florida, should Spain capture that territory from Great Britain, "provided always that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the Mississippi River into and from the sea."¹⁰¹

The story of Jay's arrival without recommendation or funds, the polite slights manifested to him by the Spanish court and his total inability to obtain a hearing with the Spanish minister show the ambitious designs of Spain at this period. Jay wrote to Franklin, October 2, 1780: "Poor as we are yet I know we shall be rich. I would rather agree with them to buy at a great price the whole of their rights on the Mississippi, than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street door."¹⁰²

That Pollock realized the intentions of Spain to cut off the United States from any control of the Mississippi River is evi-

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, Letter of July 17, 1779.

⁹⁹Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 108.

¹⁰⁰C. H. Van Tyne, *op. cit.*, 285.

¹⁰¹James, *loc. cit.*, XIX, 335, 336.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 336-338.

dent from a perusal of his letters. He was not, however, discouraged by the failure of Congress to respond to these notes. His aid to Galvez in attacking the British possessions on the Mississippi was acknowledged by the Spanish Governor, who wrote: "I thank you very much for what you with your influence have contributed in favor of the Common Cause."¹⁰³

Pollock, nevertheless, realized that the United States must gain a foothold in the South, if she were to assert her rights to the Mississippi River valley below the thirty-first degree of latitude. The generosity of Galvez had led him to aid his friend in reducing the British posts. At the same time, he himself had secured the capitulation of the territory East of Lake Pontchartrain after Captain William Pickles had captured the British man of war, West Florida. His views on this point are well brought out in a letter to Congress, dated January 2, 1780. This letter tended to strengthen the position of the members of Congress who were beginning to weaken in their demands of the free navigation of the Mississippi.¹⁰⁴ Jay was further told "to adhere to his former instructions respecting the right of the United States of America to the free navigation of the River Mississippi into and from the sea; which right, if an express acknowledgement of it could not be obtained from Spain is not by any stipulation on the part of America to be relinquished."¹⁰⁵

When Spain received news of the success of Galvez, this report only strengthened her determination not to yield on this point.

In the meantime a scare had been thrown into the ranks of the members of Congress by the success of the British in the South. Charlestown and Savannah had surrendered to Cornwallis, while Gates had been victorious at Camden. The American army was sorely in need of arms and provisions, and a loan was necessary in order to obtain these supplies. On February 15, 1781, Jay was instructed to yield on the issue of the free navigation of the Mississippi and of free ports "provided such cession shall be unalterably insisted on by Spain and provided the free navigation of the said River, above the said degree of north latitude be recognized."

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 339.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 339-341.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 342.

He was to negotiate for a loan of five million dollars. Jay looked askance on this concession, for he wrote: "The cession of this navigation will in my opinion render a future war with Spain unavoidable, and I shall look upon my subscribing to the one as fixing the certainty of the other."¹⁰⁶

Pollock continued to insist upon the right of a free waterway. A plan had formed in his mind of securing the Houmas village about twenty-two leagues above New Orleans, an excellent spot where vessels could land, and not be liable to "visit, duty or seizure."¹⁰⁷

Jay's efforts to negotiate a treaty proving unavailing, he was finally dispatched to Paris to assist Franklin in the final preparations of a Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, whereby the latter recognized the independence of the United States. Franklin commented upon Spain's attitude in the following manner: "Spain has taken four years to consider whether she should treat with us or not. Give her forty and let us in the meantime mind our own business."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 342-345.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 345, 346.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 347.

CHAPTER III

COMMERCIAL AGENT IN HAVANA (1783-1785)

During Oliver Pollock's term of office as Commercial Agent of the United States government and the State of Virginia in New Orleans, he had incurred reverses which would have caused any man to become disconsolate. His money, slaves, plantations and even his very home were snatched from him by the many creditors, who harassed him for debts contracted as the United States' public agent. He had spent his entire efforts and energy in his earnest endeavor to assist the cause of Independence. He was to risk one more venture, however, a venture that was to prove disastrous to him, as he was to see the four walls of a Spanish dungeon stare him in the face.

Pollock accepted the position of Commercial Agent in Havana for the purpose of recovering his lost fortune and of paying back the just obligations, into which he had entered, in order to supply ammunitions, provisions and clothing for the Continental army and the George Rogers Clark expedition. In Cuba he must have seen a good opportunity of again engaging in trade and at the same time of performing a service for the country, which he loved so well.

Oliver Pollock's commission dated June 2, 1783 reads:

The United States in Congress Assembled

To Oliver Pollock, Esquire, Greeting:

We reposing special trust and confidence in your abilities and integrity has constituted and appointed, and by these presents do constitute and appoint you our commercial agent during our pleasure at the city and port of Havana, to manage the occasional concerns of Congress, to assist the American traders with your advice, and to solicit their affairs with the Spanish government, and to govern yourself according to the orders you may have from time to time to receive from the United States in Congress assembled. And that you may effectually execute the office to which you are appointed, we request the Governors, Judges and all other officials of His Catholic Majesty to afford you all countenance and assistance.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto fixed. Witness his Excellency Elias Boudinot, President of the United States in Congress Assembled, the second day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and of our sovereignty and independence the seventh.

(Seal) ELIAS BOUDINOT

CHARLES THOMSON, (Sec'y).¹

The accomplishments of Pollock in New Orleans are recognized by the members of Congress. In this appointment his business acumen is acknowledged, his mode of acting with the Spanish governors is approved, at least implicitly, and the confidence of Congress that he will carry out their orders is assured. It can scarcely be doubted, however, as will be seen, that Congress fulfilled its part of the contract, "to request the Governors, Judges, and all other officials of His Catholic Majesty to afford you all countenance and assistance."

Pollock's creditors had hounded him in New Orleans, compelling him to leave the city to appeal in person to Congress and Virginia. They followed him to Havana and gave him no peace until they saw him behind prison bars.

The Governor of Cuba at this time was Luis Unzaga. He had been appointed Captain General of Caraccas in 1777, when Galvez took over the reins of government in Louisiana.² From Caraccas he was removed to Cuba on December 28, 1782, when we find him in charge of that island upon the arrival of Oliver Pollock from the United States.³ American commerce and trade were not favored by Unzaga, and it must have been the belief of Congress, that if any man could improve conditions, that man would be Oliver Pollock.

Pollock enjoyed a close friendship with Unzaga while the latter was Governor of Louisiana. The Spanish official, however, believed in duty before friendship, for when the appeals

¹Pollock, Oliver, *Memorial and Petition of Oliver Pollock to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America* (Washington, D. C., 1813), 8; Cf. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, (ed. by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Washington, D. C., 1907), XXIV, 376, 377.

²Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana*, (New Orleans, 1903), III, 104.

³Pezuela, Jacobo, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, III, 183

of Pollock's creditors reached his ears, and he was convinced that Pollock had contracted just obligations, he ordered, what seems to be a cruel action in these days. On the morning of May 17, 1784, a non-commissioned officer and two soldiers appeared with fixed bayonets before Pollock's home. Pollock himself was placed under arrest while his "chariot, pair of mules, harness, and negro coachment" were seized, and brought to the home of Marquis de Rizal Socore, Depositor General of Cuba. His property was attached, and all correspondence between Pollock and the United States was prohibited. To add insult to injury, Pollock found himself unable to collect a debt from some bankers in the city, to whom he had supplied flour. This debt amounted to \$9,574.25. Four of Pollock's employees made their appearance on the day of his arrest to demand payment. The bankers refused on the ground that Unzaga had placed an embargo upon all of Pollock's belongings. Later, when Pollock was released, they pleaded insolvency, so that he was forced to sustain the loss and damages incurred.⁴

Pollock's family had come from New Orleans to join him in Havana. We can well imagine the sufferings to which they were subjected when they saw the head of the family forcibly snatched from them. He had left them penniless in New Orleans. Once more they were to experience suffering and privation because the government, which Pollock had served so well, had not honored the drafts, drawn on their accounts. August found Pollock still in the custody of the Spanish guards, but he was able during this time to make arrangements for the departure of his family. He obtained for that purpose a loan of \$3,000 from Thomas Plunket, a Philadelphia merchant. His family departed from Havana on the ship *Favorite*, under the command of Captain Robert Vallance. The owner of the vessel was General Walter Stewart.⁵

⁴Pollock, Oliver, *Memorial and Petition*, etc., 6.

Hayden, Horace Edwin, *An Autobiographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of Silver Springs, Pa.* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883), 14.

Thompson, Joseph J., "A Chapter in Illinois Finances," in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 76.

In 1813 Pollock petitioned Congress for a settlement of this claim. Congress had previously refused on the ground that it was a personal debt.

⁵Hayden, *op. cit.*, 13.

On September 30, 1784, Robert Morris addressed a letter to Pollock, in which he stated that Congress had left his petition on the table. Pollock was hopeful that his family would at least secure an interest on the money owed him by the government. The family had removed to Pennsylvania to rely again on the bounty and hospitality of some generous friends. After acknowledging the receipt of Pollock's letters of July 7, and August 28, Morris continues:

In the meantime I am in the disagreeable Situation of finding my Hands tied up by their Resolution, so that I cannot make any Payment to your Wife in the manner which you expected. I am, however, in hopes that Congress will order Money to her as soon as they meet. I have submitted your several Complaints to the Honorable Mr. Carmichael, Chargé des Affaires of the United States at Madrid, and I hope and expect that he will be able eventually to obtain some Concession for the arbitrary Conduct of the Government at Havana. This you will say is a slender and distant Dependence for those immediately suffering under the Rod of Authority. I wish something better could be done, but I only can sympathize in Affections which I can neither remove nor alleviate.⁶

Morris also transmitted a letter to the President of Congress on the same date. In this letter a glimpse is obtained of the political conditions existing between Spain and the United States, as viewed by Morris. The letter follows:

With respect to this gentlemen's Application for money I found my Hands tied up by an act of Congress and therefore neither his Services nor his Sufferings nor a view to those distresses to which a helpless Family are reduced, could induce me to grant that relief, which Justice and Humanity did equally demand. I persuade myself, however, that it will be among the earliest objects calling for the Attention of Congress to alleviate Sufferings which in their Causes and in their attending Circumstances are equally severe and extraordinary.

I shall hazard no sentiment on the conduct which the Spanish Government hath pursued with relation to the American Court at Havana. I conceived it to be my Duty to

⁶*Letter Book of Robert Morris*, in Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, G, 286.

transmit Copies to the Honorable Mr. Carmichael. That Gentleman's Abilities, Firmness and Integrity leave no Room to doubt that he will take every Measure which is proper on the Occasion, and it gives me very sincere Pleasure to find from the best Intelligence that His Influence at the Spanish Court is such as to promote the best effects from his Representation. At the same time it would be weakness not to see that the Depositions of Spain are extremely hostile to claims derived by the United States under the late Treaty of Peace and therefore we must expect that the usual Delays of that Court will be protracted to the utmost Extent. The Event like most others of the Past must depend materially upon the Degree of Energy which shall prevail in the Government of America, and with Respect to that there is too much cause to wish and too little ground to hope.⁷

The source of Pollock's trouble was the unpaid drafts which he had drawn for the United States and Virginia, especially for the furtherance of the Clark expedition. These drafts were drawn on French and Spanish firms, whose bills were sent back to him protested, because he lacked the necessary means to accept them. As a result, his credit in the commercial world became worthless. Pollock made constant appeals not only to Robert Morris but also to the Governor of Virginia and other high personages, in order to extricate himself from his difficulties.⁸ The firms of Penet, Da Costa, Fereres and Company of Bordeaux and Nantes, France and that of the Gardoquis in Bilboa, Spain, were especially insistent upon reimbursement. Pollock makes mention in his *Memorial and Petition of 1813 to Congress* of a Mr. Bougard, as one of those merchants whose bill came back to him under protest.⁹ Virginia, however, had given up her claims to the West, and in 1784 she ceded to Congress the Northwest territory together with the debts which she incurred for the conquest of that land.¹⁰ Pollock never abandoned hope of his liberation

⁷*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 80, Vol. I, folio 29.

⁸Among those to whom Pollock addressed letters are mentioned Brigadier General Robert Lawson (*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 590), Captain Beauregard and Thomas Plunket (*Ibid.*, III, 599) and Governor Patrick Henry, one on August 28, 1784 (*Ibid.*, III, 607) and another on March 5, 1785 (*Ibid.*, IV, 14).

⁹Pollock, *Memorial and Petition*, etc., 6, 14.

¹⁰Geer, Curtis M., *The Louisiana Purchase (The History of North America* ed. by Lee), 52.

from debtors prison, a hope, that came to realization, when his life-long friend Don Bernardo de Galvez became Captain General of Cuba, succeeding Unzaga on February 4, 1785.¹¹

It was through the influence of this worthy friend that Pollock saw himself once more a free man. Galvez could not permit him, however, to leave the island without an assurance that the debts owed the Spanish government would be paid. Pollock then guaranteed that he would do everything in his power upon his arrival in the United States to have Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister to the United States, reimbursed to the amount of \$141,696.¹²

Before departing Havana, Pollock was handed a letter of recommendation by Galvez, as a testimony of the former's services to the United States. The letter in part reads:

I certify that Oliver Pollock, Esquire, agent of the commerce of the United States, had resided in this capacity in the Province of Louisiana while I was governor-general of the same, and that he acted in favor of the soldiers and citizens of his own nation with all the zeal and love which becomes the true patriot, supplying them with provisions and assisting them whenever they wanted it, with his own credit or with ready money, the Congress bills not being current here; in all which he neither spared pains nor trouble to obtain the end which he proposed for himself and to give assistance which lay in his power.

He obtained loans in the name of the United States, and obtained seventy-nine thousand and eighty-seven dollars which are still owing. That in the expedition I made against the forts of his Britannic Majesty on the Mississippi he attended me in person until the surrender.

In witness thereof and to serve him as of right I ought, I have granted him this present certificate at the Havanna, the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

(Signed) EL CONDE DE GALVEZ¹³

¹¹Pezuela, *op. cit.*, III, 198. Congress on August 5, 1783 accepted the picture of Galvez presented by Pollock, as a testimonial of the Spanish Governor's service to the United States. Cf. *Journals of Continental Congress*, XXV, 964.

¹²Hayden, *op. cit.*, 13.

¹³Downing, Margaret B., "Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 204.

Pollock left Havana for the United States on May 3, 1785, accompanied by the Spanish minister plenipotentiary, Don Diego de Gardoqui, who had sailed for America by way of the Cuban port. The *Pennsylvania Packet* for May 21 and 24 gives the following account of their arrival in Philadelphia:

Saturday, May 21, 1785

Last night, about 8 o'clock, arrived in this city from the Havanna, his excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui, minister plenipotentiary from his Catholic Majesty to the United States. His excellency has taken up his temporary residence at the home of the Honourable Don Francisco Rendon, who, we are informed, is appointed secretary to the Spanish legation. The known abilities of these two gentlemen will no doubt greatly contribute to maintain and keep alive the harmony and good union which at present happily subsists between Spain and this country.

Tuesday, May 24, 1785

Sunday (rightly Friday) last the Spanish Frigate Matilda commanded by the Chevalier Moralles arrived here from the Havanna, which she left the third of April (rightly May). In this ship came as passengers, his excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui, ambassador from his Catholic's Majesty to the United States, and Oliver Pollock, esquire, consul from the United States to the Havanna.

We learn by the above vessel that that steady and confirmed friend to the United States, His Excellency the Count Galvez was some time since appointed to the government of the Havanna, where he arrived about four months since and immediately proceeded to shew every favore to the Americans there by counteracting the very rigorous conduct of the former Governor of Cuba towards our countrymen trading to that island. The Courts of Justice were opened for all Americans, who had money due them to prosecute for the recovery of their debts; and permission was given for all who were formerly ordered from the island, to return to do themselves justice . . . Passages were provided for several Americans there, to return to their respective homes. In this good work, Count Galvez was much assisted by his excellency Don Diego Gardoqui who interested himself greatly in removing the unfavorable impression which the behaviour of the late governor had made upon almost everyone who had gone from the United States for the purpose of trading. But we are sorry to mention that Count Galvez was soon after prevented

from continuing this favorable conduct, by being appointed viceroy of Mexico, for which he was to sail a few days after the *Matilda* left the Havanna, where his loss would be much lamented.¹⁴

The next chapter will concern Oliver Pollock's claims against the United States and Virginia, claims in which politics and delays of every description play an important part.

¹⁴*Pennsylvania Packet*, copies in the New York Public Library.

CHAPTER IV

POLLOCK'S CLAIMS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND VIRGINIA (1783-1813)

One of the difficult tasks that confronted the Continental Congress during the American Revolution was the supplying of funds to be able to carry on the war. The thirteen Colonies lacked a centralized form of government, although they had in common separated from the mother country. Congress did not possess the power to levy taxes, and even had this power been granted them, it is doubtful whether they would have been able to collect money from the States on account of the latter's hatred of taxation. Fiat money was resorted to in order to continue trading pursuits and to buy the necessities of war. On June 22, 1775, Congress issued bills of credit for \$2,000,000. From that time until near the end of the year 1779, forty-two emissions of paper money, amounting to \$241,552,380 were authorized by Congress. In September, 1777, the dollar began to depreciate, and in March, 1780, the continental dollar sold for 2.45 cents, so that "not worth a continental" became a by-word of worthlessness. The situation, however, was saved for the time being by the influx of European gold. Although a period of economic reorganization set in after the war, the country, nevertheless, suffered from a depreciated currency, and from the British Navigation Acts, aimed principally at American commerce. Among the European nations, reciprocal commercial privileges were enjoyed only with Russia and Sweden.¹

The economic condition of the country at this time is well summed up by Theodore Roosevelt in his life of Gouverneur Morris: "But this niggardliness as well as the real poverty of the people, the jealousies of the States, kept aflame by the States-rights leaders for their own selfish purpose and the foolish ideas of most of the Congressional delegates on all money matters, combined to keep our treasury in a pitiable condition."²

¹Faulkner, Harold Underwood, *American Economic History* (New York, 1924), 173-176.

²Roosevelt, Theodore, *Gouverneur Morris*, (*American Statesmen*, ed., by John T. Morse, Jr., Boston, 1891), 100.

Oliver Pollock's appointment as Commercial Agent of the government and Virginia in New Orleans had placed him in financial straits. His incessant pleas to Congress either went unheeded, or promises were sent to him with the assurance that his debts would be paid. A certain Mr. Henderson had been appointed by him to address his claims before the assembled Congress. The *Journals of the Continental Congress* and the *Papers of the Continental Congress* contain the petitions of Pollock and his lawyers (Henderson and Daniel Clarke), and the reports of the Congress on the same. Thus, in the session of Thursday, July 1, 1779, the Committee of Commerce laid before Congress three letters from Pollock, bearing the dates February the seventeenth, April the tenth, and May the second. It was thereby ordered: "that they be returned to the Committee of Congress, and the Committee be directed to take the most speedy and convenient measures for making remittances for such sums as may be justly due to Mr. Oliver Pollock, the Commercial Agent at New Orleans."³

Again in the session of Congress held on Tuesday, April 25, 1780, a motion was drawn up by James Searle and seconded by Frederick A. Muhlenberg, whereby it was resolved that:

The Board of Treasury be directed to furnish the Commercial Committee with bills of exchange drawn on the Hon. John Jay, Esquire, for 5,800 Spanish milled dollars to enable them to discharge a bill drawn on the said committee for the like sum by Oliver Pollock of New Orleans, and also bills drawn as above for a sum equal to 62 pounds, 10 shillings sterling to enable the Committee of Commerce to pay the freight of public goods, imported in the schooner *Scorpion* from Bilboa.

It was then debated that these bills that had been loaned should suffer no greater depreciation than that of "40 of said bills for one Spanish milled dollar."⁴

On Monday, January 8, 1781, a memorial of John Henderson was read before the Congress. It was then ordered that the said memorial be considered on the morrow. The duress of the busi-

³*Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Washington, D. C., 1924), XIV, 787.

⁴*Ibid.*, XVI, 389; Cf. also XVIII, 1027, 1028, 1072, 1086, 1106, 1130.

ness on the following day, however, necessitated a postponement until a later date. This memorial respected accounts for \$37,836.

The Commercial Committee found that the claim of Pollock had been previously examined and passed upon by Mr. Fell, a former member of the same Committee. On reexamination, it was discovered that the vouchers supporting Pollock's claim were missing. Mr. Pennel of the Navy Board who assisted Mr. Fell assured the Commercial Committee that these vouchers existed. They consider it a hardship to have Mr. Henderson compose new vouchers, whereupon it was ordered: "that the Treasury Board pass 37,836 dollars, specie, to the credit of Oliver Pollock, agent of the United States at New Orleans as a debt due to him from the said States in which an interest of 6 per cent is to be allowed him until payment be made."⁵

Whether or not Pollock received the various sums of money allotted to him by the Committees appointed by Congress to investigate his affairs cannot be definitely stated, but it is not to be denied that he was lacking the means necessary to carry on his work and to settle his financial obligations. By 1781, he had become penniless. His plantations, slaves, and home had been sold in order to settle as many of the claims of creditors as he possibly could. Congress had also promised Pollock shiploads of flour, yet, as has been seen, these supplies were never delivered to him.

In 1782, Pollock left New Orleans to appeal in person to Congress. In his letter of September 18, 1782, written from Philadelphia, he laid bare his financial straits, and enumerated his many achievements for the American cause. This letter was referred to a Committee composed of James Duane and Hugh Williamson, who made out a report on Pollock's appeal. This report stated that Pollock's accounts with the United States and Virginia were complicated, and settlement with the United States was advised to be deferred until that of Virginia was cleared up. The report concludes:

⁵*Ibid.*, XIX, 118, 119; the *Memorial of John Henderson* is to be found in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 41, Vol. IV, folio 101, and the Report of the Commercial committee in the same *Papers* No. 31, folio 227.

Cf. *Journals*, XIX, 142, 341, etc., for a fuller treatment of the claims of Pollock before Congress.

That Mr. Pollock appears to your Committee to have exerted himself with much zeal and Industry as Commercial Agent of the United States at New Orleans. That he also appears to have advanced large sums out of his private fortune and to have contracted large debts with the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty partly for the Service of the United States and partly for the Service of the State of Virginia.

It then recommended that security be given him "whenever the state of our public funds shall render it practicable."⁶

Robert Morris likewise addressed a letter, dated October 11, 1782, to Mr. Duane, chairman of this committee. Mr. Morris says in part:

I have been frequently informed by Persons from that Quarter of the World (New Orleans) of Mr. Pollock's good Conduct. I am myself therefore fully persuaded that Mr. Pollock . . . having manifested great zeal, Integrity and Abilities during his Residence at that place is entitled to most favorable notice and attention.

Mr. Morris ends his letter with the following statement:

There appears to me, Sir, three good Reasons for recommending Mr. Pollock to the State of Virginia and for regarding that State to adjust its accounts. First, because, as had already been observed, his faithful Services merit favorable Notice of his Masters. Secondly, because the final Settlement of his Account with the Union will depend upon the Settlement with that State and thirdly, because a Settlement with both is necessary to relieve our public Credit abroad and do the justice which is called for by Don Miro.⁷

Virginia, however, was in no condition to pay its debts to Oliver Pollock. His appeal to the legislature of that State fell upon deaf ears, although he bore with him a confirmatory letter from Morris, who bore witness to his unflinching loyalty as Commercial Agent of that State.⁸ Forced by circumstances to face a similar condition for the government in Havana in 1783, he never abandoned confidence in the integrity either of Congress or of the State of Virginia. His appeal to Morris to obtain

⁶*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 50, folios 25-27.

⁷*Ibid.*, No. 50, folios 17-19.

⁸Downing, Margaret B., "Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 201.

aid for his destitute family was without avail. Congress had adjourned for that session, leaving the petition of Morris upon the table.⁹ Pollock likewise addressed letters to some of the leading men of Virginia. On May 28, 1784, a detailed account of his arrest was sent to Brigadier General Robert Lawson,¹⁰ and on July 12 of the same year, he appealed to the Governor and Council of the State, in which letter he described his plight on the Spanish Island.¹¹

On August 28, he outlined his claim against the State to the Governor,¹² and on March 5, 1785, he sent another appeal to Patrick Henry, before departing from Cuba.¹³ Virginia, however, was now in no position to aid Pollock, as her treasury was empty. She had likewise relinquished to Congress her territorial rights to the country conquered by Clark, along with the debts contracted in aiding this expedition.¹⁴

Upon Pollock's return to the United States with Gardoqui, he was greeted with the slanderous charges by some of the members of Congress of attempting to make enormous profits from his claims, and of demanding payment in specie, whereas paper money had been used by him in the purchase of stores and provisions.¹⁵ That Pollock was affected by those charges is shown by his visit to George Rogers Clark in person in New York City. Clark cleared him of these charges in the following words:

These are to certify, to all whom it may concern, that all the bills I drew when I commanded the Virginia troops in the Illinois country upon Mr. Oliver Pollock, agent for the United States at New Orleans, were considered by me to be for specie as the respective bills expressed in dollars, and that the service which Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills I considered at that time, and

⁹Cf. *Letter Book of Robert Morris*, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, G, 286.

¹⁰*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 590.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 599.

¹²*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 607.

¹³*Ibid.*, IV, 14.

¹⁴Hayden, Horace Edwin, "Oliver Pollock, His Connection with the Conquest of Illinois, 1778," *Magazine of American History*, XXII, 419; Cf. Downing, *loc. cit.*, 201.

¹⁵Hayden, Horace Edwin, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of Carlisle, Pa.*, (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883), 14.

so consider now, to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to keep possession of the Illinois country.

Given under my hand this day at New York, the second of July, 1785,

GEORGE CLARK.¹⁶

On August 9, 1785, Pollock wrote to Governor Randolph of Virginia, inquiring when to appear in Richmond,¹⁷ and on November 9, he addressed another letter to the Governor, in which he named William Alexander as his representative before the Virginia legislative body.¹⁸ Among those who favored Pollock's cause were Jermyn Baker, Commissioner of Virginia, and William Heth, who, together with John Pierce and David Henley, comprised the board appointed by Governor Henry to consider Pollock's claim. Mr. Baker made his report public on December 18, 1785. In this report he says:

Mr. Pollock has stated a claim to which I wish to draw very particular attention. The proofs relative are from very honorable persons: General Clark who testifies that all the monies advanced by Mr. Pollock were essential to enable him to preserve the conquests he had made. Count Galvez, now Viceroy of Mexico, places the conduct of Mr. Pollock in most honorable light and therefore though this does not come within the strict line of our inquiry, we commend this business of a suffering individual and ask that this case and accounts be placed in a just point of view and that his demands being known, we are sure of the indulgence of your honorable board.¹⁹

William Heth's letter to Pollock is a strong avowal of the former's adherence to Pollock's plea. It bears the date of New York, April 22, 1788:

Sir—Your letter of the fifteenth instant, addressed to the Commissioners for adjusting the expenses of the Illinois country, has been received and duly attended to by me. Respecting your claim against the United States now under consideration, it would be improper for the Commissioners either as a board or individually to give an opinion, but as far as we have knowledge of your situation to that State through your

¹⁶Downing, *loc. cit.*, 205.

¹⁷*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV, 47.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, IV, 63.

¹⁹Downing, *loc. cit.*, 205, 206.

exertions alone, I should deem myself extremely censurable if I should refuse to give an opinion, which I have formed after a most thorough investigation of your accounts against that State and the variety of testimony adduced by you to support them; because it may be contrary to the sentiments of a class of people who know nothing at all of the nature of your disbursements and who are too apt to condemn without a hearing.

There is no circumstance of which I am more convinced than that the conquest of the Illinois country could not have been maintained by Virginia and consequently that it would not now form a part of the United States if it had not been for your assistance and very liberal advances; except indeed that your private fortunes were injured thereby and that your character has been lightly spoken of by those who are evermore ready to join in a popular clamor against a public servant than to examine minutely into his transactions.

I am, Sir, with esteem, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HETH.

To Oliver Pollock, Esquire.²⁰

Pollock was not without his staunch defenders in Congress. On December 18, 1785, he was awarded the sum of \$90,000 with interest to cover part of his claim. The report of John Baker and William Alexander and the Committee appointed to look into his claim was favorably received. The Treasury, however, was lacking funds to pay the government's commercial agent. The account was to continue unpaid until 1792.²¹

Pollock must have decided that for the time being further appeal was useless. Since 1782, Thomas Patterson had been in New Orleans as his hostage, and it was to relieve his friend of this onerous charge that he directed his steps toward that city. The course that he set was not in the immediate direction of the Spanish port, for, after fitting out a shipload of flour in Philadelphia, he proceeded to Martinique where he disposed of it. The ship was reloaded and the cargo sold in New Orleans. Good fortune seems to have attended his efforts, for, by 1790, the claims of Galvez and others were partially paid.²²

²⁰Downing, *loc. cit.*, 206.

²¹Hayden, *op. cit.*, 15. The New York City Directory (second issue, P. 56) lists Oliver Pollock, Agent of the United States at Havana, as a resident of New York in 1787.

²²Hayden, *op. cit.*, 15. Upon his arrival in New Orleans, Pollock handed

In 1790, Pollock once more traced his steps northward. Before leaving New Orleans, however, he was handed a letter of recommendation by Governor Miro of Louisiana, the successor of Bernardo de Galvez. This letter is a further evidence of the character of Pollock, and of his untiring efforts in the cause of American liberty. The letter is dated July 27, 1790:

Sir: The bearer of this letter, Oliver Pollock, Esquire, had the honor of acting as public agent at this place during a considerable part of the late war, on the part of the United States and also for the State of Virginia. Mr. Pollock, in the execution of the orders he received from these States, contracted very considerable debts in this place, which he was unable wholly to discharge, although he disposed of all his estate, real and personal, in this country at a great disadvantage, for the purpose of fulfilling his engagements with his creditors in this province.

Mr. Pollock has since his arrival here very honorably and to the entire satisfaction of his creditors in this province, discharged all his remaining debts here, to a considerable amount; which he owed on account of the United States and the State of Virginia. The just integrity evinced by this gentleman in the faithful discharge of his engagements entered into for the service of his country, strongly interests me in his favor, and induces me to pray you will have the goodness to take him under your excellency's protection, and that you will be pleased to give him your aid in obtaining as speedy a reimbursement as may be for the monies now due to him from the United States and from the State of Virginia, which I shall esteem as a personal favor conferred upon myself.

I pray God to take you into His holy keeping.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest respect your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant.

ESTEVAN MIRO.²³

Virginia's debt to Pollock was subsequently paid after years of faithful waiting and petitioning on his part.²⁴

Governor Miro a letter from John Brown, then a Member of Congress from Kentucky, relative to the Kentucky agitation to secede. What connection Pollock had with this movement cannot be stated. Cf. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903), III, 222.

²³*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 192; Pollock also addressed letters to the Governor of Virginia, dated December 16, 1790, January 6, 1791 and January 22, 1791. Cf. *Ibid.*, V, 230, 231; 244; 251-254.

²⁴Hayden, *loc. cit.*, *Magazine of American History*, 420; Cf. James, "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 80.

Congress likewise was ready to reimburse its former Commercial Agent. The money due to Pollock was not paid in full, yet he received from Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, warrant number 1,684, for \$108,605.²⁵

Full justice, however, was not yet given to Pollock. It is to be noted that this money was not received as pay for his services, as he never obtained one cent for his labors during the time that he served as Commercial Agent of the United States and Virginia in New Orleans and Havana.²⁶

Oliver Pollock's case was again taken up by a prominent lawyer of the time, Augustus Brevoort Woodward, who argued Pollock's case at the first regular session of the Seventh Congress in December, 1801. Woodward had his brief printed in 1802 and reprinted in 1803. It is a "series of exhibits of all the original papers bearing on the claim with a connecting link of brief but powerfully argued commentaries." Mr. Woodward was a native of Rockbridge in Greenbriar County, Virginia, and established his law office in Alexandria, opposite the Capital. His frequent appearances before the Claims Committee of Congress on behalf of petitioners gave him a wide reputation. He was intimate with Presidents and leading politicians of his day.

That Mr. Woodward was a staunch supporter of Pollock's claims against the Government is evidenced by a perusal of this valuable document. In one passage, he asserts:

We shall see the manner in which Mr. Pollock discharged his trust, its essential obligations with inviolable integrity, and an enthusiastic zeal in a glorious cause enabled him to confer upon his country. We shall see at the same time the manner in which his country, to whatever cause it may be ascribed, complied with her stipulations and requited these obligations, and perhaps we shall even find that country, her great object accomplished, in an hour of peace, glory and prosperity listening with cold regard to the tale of his sufferings.

Mr. Woodward concludes his plea with a defiant gesture at Congress and with a brief resumé of the deeds accomplished by Pollock for his country:

²⁵Hayden, *op. cit.*, 15.

²⁶Downing, *loc. cit.*, 202.

Maxims of frugality and a spirit of economy are honorable to the rulers of a people but if that spirit degenerates into a flat denial of justice, those rulers sacrifice the virtue, the honor, and the best policies of that people.

It is justice Mr. Pollock asks. He has rendered services of another kind. The confidential documents of the government will show that in regard to Pensacola. The present documents show the additional fact of his having attended in person the reduction of the British posts on the Mississippi. It is not for confidential missions nor for military services that he asks compensation. He has yet to intercede for charities or for gratuities. Silent without a murmur when his country was distressed, he now requires of it what he conceives to be a matter of strict right. He is ready and still has it in his power to serve his country further at this day; but it will be time enough to refuse to grant his claim on the mere liberality and generosity of his country when he shall ask for it.

The case continued until 1805, when Woodward was appointed to fill the position of assistant to William Hull of Massachusetts, who was appointed by President Jefferson, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, then recently divided from the Louisiana purchase. Had Pollock's claims been further pressed by Woodward, a different story might today be written of the gratitude of a Republic towards one of its patriots.²⁷

An interesting episode in the claims of Pollock is his *Memorial and Petition of 1813* to the Congress of the United States. The purpose of this plea was partially to collect the sum of money, amounting to \$9,574.25, absconded by the bankers of Havana. Congress had refused to honor the plea on the ground that the theft concerned Pollock personally and not as the Commercial Agent of the government. He was compelled "to sign a general acquittance to the United States" before being allowed to draw on the sum of money allotted to him. Pollock says that he was reluctant to sign, lest this act be construed as a waver to his claims; but, pressed by his necessities and being in the urgent need of the hard earned pittance allowed by Congress, he did sign the acquittance.

Two avenues of indemnification lay open to him; one, with

²⁷Downing, *loc. cit.*, 196-207.

Virginia and the other, "an appeal to the expanded equity and high minded magnanimity of Congress." Virginia legislators, as individuals, treated his claim with the greatest respect and indulgence, but transferred the burden to the United States.²⁸

The justice of Pollock's claims is likewise recognized by Thomas Jefferson, while he was Vice President, Secretary of State and President, and by Don Luis Serano, Notary of the King of Spain, and Attorney for the Royal Treasury of Havana and Cuba.²⁹

Despite all reverses his own words, written in 1813, bear mute testimony to the spirit and ardor of the zeal, which actuated him in the service of his country: "Whatsoever his former services and sacrifices may have deserved of his country, he would not consider it the least useful or meritorious effort of his life, if he could close his long career of adversity and suffering by proving to those whose ability to serve the public at the expense of great labors and great sacrifices far exceed what he could ever boast, that his country is neither unjust nor unfaithful."³⁰

²⁸Pollock, *Memorial and Petition of Oliver Pollock, etc.*, 6, 7.

²⁹Downing, *loc. cit.*, 205.

³⁰Pollock, *Memorial and Petition, etc.*, 7.

CHAPTER V

LAST YEARS (1814-1823)

Oliver Pollock moved to Philadelphia around the year 1790. Hayden says that he lived at 253 Chestnut Street below Fifth, and that his children attended school in that city.¹ Pollock had joined the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1783. In 1791 he was elected a member of the Hibernian Society.² In 1791 or 1792, he purchased property in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, known as Silver Springs, near the site of his first home when he came to America.³ Here, his son James met his death by accident, and his wife passed away on January 10, 1799.⁴

Pollock became a candidate for Congress from his own district in 1797. He met defeat, however, at the hands of General John André Hanna of Dauphin County. The year 1804 found him again in the political field. This time he paired with Robert Whitehill of Cumberland County against General Hanna of Dauphin and David Burd of Huntington Counties. Pollock's vote was split with that of his running mate, and the majority gained by Hanna and Burd was sufficient to give them victory. Pollock received 1,367 votes to Whitehill's 614, an indication of his popularity in his own district.⁵

Pollock was married a second time to a widow, Mrs. Winifred Deady of Baltimore on November 2, 1805. The marriage ceremony was performed by Right Rev. John Carroll, D.D., first Bishop of the United States. Hayden observes that this marriage was neither suitable nor a happy one. This was due, perhaps, to the differences of ages between Pollock and his wife. Pollock was about sixty-eight years of age at the time of his marriage.

¹Hayden, Horace Edwin, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esquire, of Carlisle, Pa.* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883), 7. The list of children enumerated contains the names of Oliver, Jaret, Jeanette, Christiana, Poly (Mary Serena) and Lucetta.

²Thompson, Joseph P., "A Chapter in Illinois Finances," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 76; Hayden, *op. cit.*, 18.

³*Ibid.*, 17.

⁴*Ibid.*, 18, 21.

⁵*Ibid.*, 17.

His wife was fifty-one.⁶ The following year Pollock lived in Baltimore, but in 1806 or 1807, he was again nominated for a seat in Congress. Realizing that the same result would be obtained as in the previous election, he withdrew his name in favor of his partner and friend Whitehill.⁷

Mrs. Pollock died in 1814, and was buried in the Old Cathedral Cemetery in Baltimore.⁸ Pollock had long been accustomed to the Southern climate; and, perhaps, finding the Northern winters too severe, he determined once more to journey to the South. This he did in 1815, and he remained in Pinckneyville, Mississippi, with his daughter and son-in-law until death claimed him on December 17, 1823.⁹

⁶*Ibid.*, 18, 19. The record of his marriage is in the Cathedral Archives at Baltimore, Maryland.

⁷*Ibid.*, 18.

⁸*Ibid.*, 19.

⁹Downing, Margaret B., "Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, II, 203.

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EARLY CATHOLIC WEEKLIES

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN

Research workers in our American Catholic history know what a wealth of source material is contained in the Catholic weeklies of the early years of the nineteenth century. When the files are needed for reference it has been very difficult to locate them.

The Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Archivist and Librarian of Georgetown University, who has long been an active member of our Society, found in the Riggs Library of the University files of no less than forty-one of the old weeklies up to 1887, mainly from the collection made by John Gilmary Shea. These he has listed in the following chronological order and it is the first and most valuable record so far made:

EARLY CATHOLIC WEEKLIES

Western Star and Harp of Erin, New York. Vol. I, No. 3, May 30, 1812 to Vol. I, No. 50, April 24, 1813. (The editor was a man named Douglas.)

The Shanrock, New York. Vol. I, No. 1, September 2, 1815 (New Series) to Vol. I, No. 26, 1815.

United States Catholic Miscellany, Charleston. Vol. I, No. 1, June 5, 1822 to Vol. XXV, No. 52, July 4, 1846. (Did not appear in 1823. Twelve issues missing in Vol. XXV. Eight copies in Vols. XXXVIII, XXXIX, 1860-1.)

The Truth Teller, New York. Vol. I, No. 1, April 12, 1825 to Vol. XVI, No. 17, April 25, 1840. (Two sets Vol. I.)

The Globe and Emerald, New York. Vol. I, No. 6, February 5, 1825 to Vol. III, No. 23, June 10, 1826.

The Catholic Press. Hartford. Vol. I, No. 3, July 25, 1829 to Vol. II, No. 52, July 2, 1831 and (New Series) Vol. I, No. 2, August 9, 1832 to Vol. I, No. 21, December 20, 1832.

The Jesuit, Boston. Vol. I, No. 1, September 5, 1829 to Vol. II, No. 52, August 27, 1831. (Five sets.) Next known as: *United States Catholic Intelligencer*. Vol. III, No. 1, October 1, 1831 to Vol. III, No. 52, September 21, 1832 (two sets). Changed back to: *The Jesuit*. Vol. IV, No. 1, January 5, 1833 to Vol. V, No. 52, December 27, 1834 (three sets).

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The *Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore. Vol. II, No. 35, August 30, 1851 to Vol. XXXV, No. 52, December 27, 1884. (Missing: Vols. VIII, IX.)

The *Leader*, St. Louis. Vol. I, No. 1, March 10, 1855 to Vol. II, No. 17, December 29, 1855.

The *Tablet*, New York. Vol. I, No. 1, June 6, 1857 to Vol. VI, No. 52, May 30, 1863 and (Vol. III missing) Vol. XII, No. 33, January 9, 1869 to Vol. XV, No. 31, December 30, 1871 and Vol. XVIII, No. 1, May 30, 1874 to Vol. XXV, No. 52, May 13, 1882; also 1859 and 1860.

The *Irish-American*, New York. Vol. IX, No. 30, July 25, 1857 to Vol. X, No. 52, December 25, 1859.

The *Metropolitan Record*, New York. Vol. I, No. 1, January 30, 1859 to Vol. I, No. 49, December 31, 1859, and Vol. II, No. 2, January 14, 1860 to Vol. II, No. 32, August 11, 1860, and Vol. VI, No. 4, January 23, 1864 to Vol. VI, No. 52, December 24, 1864.

The *Guardian*, Louisville. Vol. I, No. 1, May 1, 1858 to Vol. III, No. 52, April 20, 1861.

Der Wahrheitsfreund, Cincinnati. Vol. XXIII, No. 1, August 23, 1860 to Vol. XXXI, No. 52, August 5, 1868.

Die Katholische Kirchenzeitung, New York. Vol. XX, No. 8, August 26, 1863 to Vol. XXV, No. 52, August 24, 1871. The editor, the famous convert Lutheran minister John James Max. Oertel started it in Baltimore in 1846 moved it to New York in 1851, and, for the last years of his life (he died in 1882), edited it from Jamaica, L. I. It was long the leading German Catholic weekly of the United States. (Cf. RECORDS AND STUDIES VOL. IV, pp. 139-144.)

The *Spectator*, Washington, D. C. Vol. I, No. 4, November 25, 1865 to Vol. I, No. 24, April 14, 1866; changed to the *Visitor*. Vol. I, No. 25, April 21, 1866 to Vol. II, No. 32, June 7, 1866.

The *Western New York Catholic*, Buffalo. Vol. III, No. 1, January 2, 1866 to Vol. IV, No. 52, December 28, 1867.

Alte und Neue Welt, Baltimore. (Monthly) Vol. I, No. 1, January 1866 to Vol. IX, No. 12, 1874.

The *Western Catholic*, Detroit. Vol. I, No. 1, September 12, 1868 to Vol. VIII, No. 37, May 13, 1876.

The *Catholic Standard*, Philadelphia. Vol. III, No. 1, January 4, 1868 to Vol. VI, No. 52, December 30, 1871 and Vol. X, complete, January 2, to December 25, 1875, and Vol. XVI, No. 1, January 1, 1881 to Vol. XXV, No. 52, December 27, 1890.

The *Morning Star*, New Orleans. Vol. II, No. 1, February 7, 1869 to Vol. IX, No. 52, February 4, 1877.

The *Catholic Sentinel of the Northwest*, Portland Oregon. Vol. I, No. 1, February 5, 1870 to Vol. III, No. 48, December 28, 1872, and Vol. V, No. 47, January 1, 1875 to Vol. VI, No. 45, December 16, 1875, and Vol. IX, complete, February 7, to January 30, 1878-9.

The *Catholic Advocate*, Louisville. Vol. II, No. 29, January 7, 1871 to Vol. III, No. 28, December 28, 1871.

The *Catholic Review*, New York. Vol. I, No. 9, 10, 11,

June 15-29, 1872. Vol. II, No. 2, January, 1873 to Vol. XXXVIII, No. 26, December 27, 1890. (Several copies missing in Vols. I, III, IV.)

The *Catholic Citizen*, Newark. Vol. II, No. 1, September 19, 1874 to Vol. II, No. 52, September 11, 1875.

The *Catholic Union*, Buffalo. Vol. III, complete, April 23, 1874 to April 15, 1875.

The *Catholic Journal*, Pittsburgh. Vol. III, No. 1, September 4, 1875 to Vol. IV, No. 10, 1876.

The *Central Catholic*. Indianapolis. Vol. I, No. 1, June 26, 1875 to Vol. II, No. 1, December 25, 1875.

The *Catholic Universe*. Cleveland. Vol. VIII, No. 262, June 26, 1879 to Vol. XVI, No. 841, August 21, 1890.

The *Catholic Weekly*, Troy. Vol. I, No. 1, February 27, 1886 to Vol. IV, No. 46, January 4, 1890.

The *Catholic American*, New York. Vol. I, No. 1, January 1, 1887 to Vol. II, No. 27, December 31, 1887.

The *Catholic News*, New York. Vol. III, No. 1, February 21, 1888 to Vol. V. No. 52, November 1, 1891. (Complete sets of the *Catholic News* are in the Congressional Library, Washington, and in the Public Library, New York. A complete set of the *Catholic Directories* is in the Library of the *Catholic News* office.)

There is also in the Georgetown Library complete files of the *Catholic World*, Brownson's *Quarterly Review*, the *American Catholic Quarterly*, the *Catholic Expositor* (1841); Robert Walsh's *American Quarterly* (the first quarterly review of any kind to be published in the United States); the *Catholic Record* (Philadelphia, 1871-1878); the *Dublin Review*, the *Month*, the *London Tablet*, *Etudes*, *Civiltà Cattolica*, Carey's *American Museum* and a whole lot of big magazines such as Littel's *Living Age*, the *London Annual Register* (1777-1778), etc. Included besides is a complete set of the, now so rare and so valuable, annual volumes of the *Catholic Directory*, 1807-1937.

Father Parsons has found that the University's library is housing one of the most representative and valuable collections of old and rare American books in the country.

Included in these Catholic book treasures are titles of more than absorbing interest to the bibliophile and scholar. Among them are: Christopher Saur's edition of the *Imitation*, German-

town, 1749; Fenelon's *Dissertation of Pure Love*, by the same publisher, 1750; the first Catholic prayer book published in the United States; Challoner's *Garden of the Soul*, Philadelphia, 1770; the first purely American *Manual of Catholic Prayers*, Philadelphia, 1774; Archbishop Carroll's *Address to the American People*, Annapolis, 1784; John Aitken's *Catholic Hymn Book* with music, Philadelphia, 1788; and in all some 80 Catholic books printed before 1800.

Father Parsons is conceiving the Georgetown collection from two points of view: first, as a museum for the display of early American works of printing, first editions and autographed copies by important persons in the historical and book publishing world; secondly, as a source of material available to research students and scholars. Many of the valuable books in the Georgetown collection are of little use to the scholars, so far as content matter is concerned, but they are all highly significant as curios of a bygone age. The collection of precious printing Americana, includes: two of Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia imprints; the first edition (1788) of the *Federalist*; the first American edition (1747) of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*; three contemporary histories of the War of 1812, including that by Thomas O'Connor; Abbe Raynal's 1779 Edinburgh edition of his history of the Revolution; Aaron Bancroft's *Life of Washington*, first edition, a gift of the author to John Marshall, whose autograph is on the title page; and Benjamin Franklin's *Experiments in Electricity* (1774), with the autograph of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who had it as a gift of the author.

After the death of James A. McMaster and the settling of his affairs the office files of the *Freeman's Journal* (1840-1918) were given to the library of Notre Dame University. The files of the *Catholic Review* (1872-1899) founded and edited by Patrick V. Hickey, one of our most progressive and practical journalists, were given by his family to Villanova College when he passed away and the paper ceased publication.

Files of the New York *Metropolitan Record*, the official organ of Archbishop Hughes, and edited by John Mullaly (1859-1873), have been most difficult to obtain, but investigation shows that the collection in the archives of the Dominican House of Studies at

Washington, D. C., has nearly a complete set of the *Metropolitan Record*—Volumes 1 to 9 almost entire. The Dominican records also show where volumes of the *Record* are elsewhere available. They state that Volume 6 is in the possession of Fordham University, New York. The Library of Congress has Volumes 1, 5 and 7, the Catholic University of America has Volumes 1 and 2 and St. Joseph's Seminary at Yonkers, N. Y., Volumes 1, 2 and 4.

In the collection at the Dominican House of Studies made by the Very Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., Historian of the Province, over a period of years, are copies of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, of Charleston, S. C., the first distinctly Catholic newspaper in the United States (June 5, 1822). The Cathedral in Charleston has a complete set, but other complete sets are rare. In the collection also are Volumes 3 and 4 of the *Catholic Journal of the New South*, also called at one time *Adam*. These volumes cover the period from 1885 to 1908. There is a partial collection of the *Freeman's Journal*, New York, and a number of copies of the *Truth Teller* (1825-1855), of the period from 1831 to 1839.

On the library shelves is a set of the *Catholic Directory* from 1817 down to the present time. These directories were issued variously by Hayes, Field, Creagh, Lucas, Meyers, Edward Dunigan, Murphy, D. & J. Sadlier, Hoffman-Wiltzius before the present publishers P. J. Kenedy and Son took over the publication.

The librarian Father Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., has listed the following that are included in the library of Villanova College:

Catholic Herald, Philadelphia, first issues, January 3, 1833 to 1863: 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 (missing), 1838, 1839, 1840, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847; *Catholic Review*—New York, April 20, 1871 to December 24, 1893 (full set).

Catholic Press, Hartford, Connecticut, 1830. Bound with this is one issue of the *Irishman*, December 12, 1829, Vol. I. No. 30, published at Charleston, S. C.

Catholic Press, 1831. Bound with this is the *Catholic Miscellany* for 1831.

Catholic Miscellany, Charleston, S. C., Vol. 2, 1824, 1829, 1830, 1831.

Catholic Annals, New York, 1871-1888 complete.

The Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel, Vol. 1, September 5, 1829, to August 28, 1830, Vol. 2, September 4, 1830, to August 27, 1831.

The Truth Teller, New York. Vol. 3, 1827 (Vol. 4 missing), Vol. 5, 1829, Vol. 6, 1830, Vol. 7, 1831, Vol. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Vol. 13, 14 (missing), Vol. 15, 16.

Catholic Weekly Instructor, Philadelphia. Some issues only of Vol. 4 and 5, 1849-1850.

In the library of Notre Dame University, Paul R. Byrne, librarian, has found the following files of old papers. Due to lack of shelf space there are still other unplaced volumes of early papers that could not be checked for this list. Some of the volumes listed are incomplete:

Boston Pilot. 1837, 1840, 1844, 1845, 1852, 1855, 1877, 1887, 1890-91, 1894, 1898.

Catholic Advocate, Louisville. 1845, 1846, 1869-70, 1872, 1874-76, 1878, 1880-81, 1883-85, 1887, 1889-95, 1898.

Catholic American, New York. 1887, 1894, 1896, 1897.

Catholic Citizen, Milwaukee. 1892, 1894-96.

Catholic Mirror, Baltimore. 1850, 1853, 1859, 1864, 1867, 1872-74, 1876-80, 1882-84, 1894, 1896.

Catholic News, New York. 1887, 1903, 1905, 1911, 1913-15.

Catholic Review, New York. April 20, 1872, 1873, 1895, 1898.

Catholic Telegraph, Cincinnati. November 5, 1831, 1833-36, 1840, 1842, 1858, 1860, 1870, 1871, 1874, 1878-85, 1887, 1889-92, 1893.

Catholic Universe, Cleveland. 1878, 1893.

Crusader, Summitville, Pennsylvania. December 23, 1852, 1853.

Illustrated Catholic American, New York. 1880, 1885-86, 1888-89, 1891.

Jesuit; or Catholic Sentinel, Boston. September 5, 1829-August 27, 1831, 1834.

New York Freeman's Journal. 1841, 1845, 1861-62, 1888, 1890, 1892-94, 1897, 1900, 1903.

New York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary. Note: v. 5-6, 1835-36, have title: *N. Y. Catholic Diary*. 1833, 1836.

Pittsburgh Catholic. 1852, 1860.

Truth Teller, New York. 1825, 1827, 1834.

United States Catholic Miscellany, Charleston. 1822, 1824, 1832, 1835-39, 1844-46.

Copies of the following Catholic periodicals (within the period 1808-1850) are in the Saint Louis University library:

Boston *Pilot*, *Catholic Advocate*, *Catholic Diary*, *Catholic Herald* (continued as *Catholic Herald and Visitor*), *Catholic News Letter*, *Catholic Telegraph*, *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel*, New York *Catholic Register*, later the *Freeman's Journal* and *Catholic Register*, *Le Propagateur Catholique*, *Shepherd of the Valley*, *Truth Teller* (1835 at St. Charles Rectory, St. Charles, Missouri), *United States Catholic Intelligencer*, *United States Catholic Press*.

Bill Arp, the Georgia humorist was a contributor to the *Metropolitan Record*. Miss. A. M. Christie, his latest biographer, says (*Catholic News*, September 11, 1937):

"In one of Smith's books, published by the *Metropolitan Record* office in 1866, is a note signed by the editor of the *Record* stating that four of the letters published in the book 'appeared first in the *Record*, for which the author still continues at intervals to write.' The advertisement in the back of the book states that the *Record* is published at 424 Broome street and announces the enlargement of the paper from sixty-four to eighty columns, and adds that 'it is now the largest Democratic and family paper published in the United States'."

The connection of the Georgia humorist, Bill Arp, with the *Metropolitan Record* may be accounted for by the fact that the editor, John Mullaly, was a States Rights Democrat and Southern sympathizer during the Civil War period, and had a considerable following in the South, as he made his paper a bitter critic of the Lincoln administration. He did not succeed in getting himself arrested and his paper suppressed for being disloyal, as happened to James A. McMaster and the *Freeman's Journal* in 1861. Warned by the government, he prudently moderated his utterances and was not further molested.

John Mullaly, who died in New York, January 2, 1915, in his eightieth year, was the last of the old-time editors of national repute, the end of the list that carries the names of Pise, Brownson, McMaster, Bakewell, Roddan, Finotti, Hecker, Boyce, Webb, Purcell, Callaghan, Gallagher, Cumiskey, Corcoran, Huntington, White, D'Arcy-McGee, Wilcox, Wolf, Donahoe, Keogh, McCarthy, Tello—names not even known to most of the present public, yet those of men who were the leaders of Catholic thought and

action during the nineteenth century. He, too, had outlived his generation and was a stranger to the millions in the city he had seen grow to international prestige and to the great body of his brethren in the Faith, whose sturdy champion he had been during a long and busy life. In his last years he found great pleasure in unwearingly ministering to the comfort of the poor old men cared for by the Little Sisters of the Assumption.

Born in Belfast, Ireland, Mr. Mullaly came to New York in the early fifties and began his newspaper career on the *Tribune* and the *Evening Post*. When the first Atlantic cable was laid (1857-58) he went abroad as the representative of the New York *Herald*, and came across the ocean in the cable ship and wrote the story of the voyage for the *Herald*.

In 1859 Archbishop Hughes started the *Metropolitan Record* as his personal diocesan organ, making Mr. Mullaly its editor. He so continued until the paper ceased publication in 1873. After his editorial functions ended he served New York City in several positions in the municipal government, during which he was the projector of the system of public parks that now adorn the Bronx Borough.

With the issue of September 19, 1937, the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*, established in 1831, relinquished its individuality as the oldest Catholic weekly to become a link in the chain of eighteen diocesan editions of the *Denver Register*. It is now the *Catholic Telegraph-Register* owned by the Archbishop of Cincinnati and edited by a board of four diocesan priests. The retiring owner and editor since February 7, 1898 was Dr. Thomas P. Hart.

When in 1822 Bishop Edward Fenwick, O.P., the "Apostle of Ohio," took over the administration of the new diocese of Cincinnati that extended from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes, he soon found he would have to go abroad to seek funds to help him to carry on his work. Among the gifts he then received was a printing press which he brought to Cincinnati and set up in the Atheneum College near his cathedral. From this the initial issue of the *Catholic Telegraph*, an eight-page weekly was sent out, on October 22, 1831. The first editor was the Rev. James Ignatius Mullon, one of the priests of the cathedral, and associated with him was a convert, the Rev. Josue M. Young, later Bishop

of Erie, Pennsylvania, a practical printer and also an excellent business manager. While it never had a national circulation the vigorous and authoritative editorial articles on important topics in the *Telegraph* were copied by other Catholic papers and gave it widespread influence and prestige.

Father Mullan, the first editor, was an able and remarkable cleric. He joined with Father John Power, of New York and Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, in advising and directing the tour of the French publicist Alexis de Tocqueville through the United States and Canada, in 1831-32, the outcome of which was the historic *Democracy in America*. His father was William Mullan, an old fashioned Irish Schoolmaster, who kept the village school at Emmitsburg, Maryland. It was in his house that John Hughes, New York's famous Archbishop, lived while he worked on the farm of Mount St. Mary's Seminary, waiting a chance to be admitted there as a student, and he profited much scholastically by his association with the old schoolmaster. Father James Mullan does not seem to have harmonized with his former Emmitsburg associate Dr. John B. Purcell, who was made second Bishop of Cincinnati, in 1833, for, the following year, he left there for New Orleans, where, until his death, September 24, 1866, he was pastor of St. Patrick's Church.

Before they entered the seminary for their theological studies both Father Mullan and Father Young spent some time at sea as sailors. Father Young, during his connection with the *Telegraph*, when there was a rush for "copy," recalling his old trade skill, would stand at a "case," "stick" in hand and "set up" his editorial, or other contributions, without waiting to write out his thoughts on paper.

Ohio was mainly settled by migrants from New England who carried with them all the malignant anti-Catholic bigotry that unfortunately made such an unpleasant reputation for that section of our country. Bishop Purcell recognized the value of the press in promoting the progress of the Church and defending its doctrines. A notable instance of this was in 1837, when he carried on a most successful debate that secured national interest with the Rev. Alexander Campbell, a ranting minister, founder of the American sect bearing his name, who challenged any Catholic

clergyman to meet him and on an equal footing to discuss religious differences. The *Telegraph* was the first publication in the United States to attack, in articles by Bishop Purcell, Newman's theory of Development. When Brownson, in his *Review*, during 1853, discussed the relations of the temporal order to the spiritual, and asserted the supremacy of the spiritual, the *Telegraph* sharply opposed his position as being inopportune and going too far. Although others of the Hierarchy agreed with Brownson, Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh joined Bishop Purcell in this view by articles in the *Metropolitan Magazine* and the *Pittsburgh Catholic*. The controversies of those days were fiercely vindictive and personal, and today it is difficult to realize the occasions or environment that called for denunciations of Brownson as an ignoramus, a heretic, a hypocrite and other equally uncomplimentary designations. During the anti-slavery agitation the *Telegraph* was a States Rights Southern partisan but, with the breaking out of the Civil War, it moderated its opinions to give conservative support to the Union.

"We thought," said the editor, "that the South was imposed on by the North, but now individual opinion must yield to the obligation we owe to the Union." The *Telegraph* thus joined the *New York Tablet*, the *Boston Pilot*, the *Pittsburgh Catholic* and Brownson's *Review* in upholding the cause of the Union in contrast to the course taken by the *New York Freeman's Journal*, the *Metropolitan Record* and the *Baltimore Catholic Mirror*. These publications may be cited as representing Catholic opinion, in North and South respectively, on slavery and the other issues of the day that agitated the country from 1850 to 1865. A very interesting and informative paper on this subject was contributed by the Rev. Cuthbert E. Allen, O.S.B., to Volume XXVI of the RECORDS AND STUDIES of the United States Catholic Historical Society.

Archbishop Purcell's brother, the Rev. Edward Purcell, who was also his Vicar General, became editor in the early sixties and had as his assistant for ten years the Rev. Sylvester Rosecrans, later Bishop of Columbus. Father Purcell was a domineering autocrat who made himself and the paper very unpopular. He fancied he was a trained banker and in that field made unwise

ventures that brought about bankruptcy in 1879, involving the Archbishop in a maze of harrowing trouble that hastened his death and left an intolerable load of debt and worry which had to be shouldered by his successor, Archbishop Elder.

Other notable editors were the Rev. J. F. Callaghan, Thomas F. Galwey, afterwards an editor of the *Catholic World*, and H. W. Garland, a distinguished convert. The troubles of the various editors were multiple and disheartening. At one time in the seventies, when the end seemed inevitable, the proprietor of the German weekly *Der Wahrheitsfreund*, rather than see the *Telegraph* go under, undertook the publication of both papers until the *Telegraph* was put on a profitable basis. In February 1898, Dr. Thomas P. Hart assumed control and his record was briefly expressed in the words of Archbishop McNicholas formally announcing the taking over of the *Telegraph* by the Archdiocese of Cincinnati: "Dr. Hart has dedicated his great abilities to the publication of a Catholic paper in this community for nearly forty years. During this time, he has been the able and unofficial spokesman of the Church. Giving up his place in the medical profession, he took up the apostolate of the press as a real vocation.

"In the name of the priests, religious and laity of the Archdiocese, I wish to thank Dr. Hart for his long and devoted service, for his self-sacrificing work for religion and country."

Dr. Hart was one of the twenty-five Catholic editors, from fifteen different States, who met in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 10, 1889, incidental to the proceedings of the first Catholic Congress, November 11-12, and its commemoration of the centennial of the establishment of the Hierarchy of the United States. At this meeting preliminary steps were taken for the organization of the National Catholic Press Association which was the outcome of a convention held the following May at Cincinnati. Dr. Hart was ever a leading figure in all the activities of this National Press Association, and prominent in its councils. In July 1936, he contributed to the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* this account of the beginning of the organization:

The first earnest and definite attempt to form a Catholic Press Association in the United States was inspired by a plank in the platform adopted by the First Catholic Congress,

held at Baltimore, Maryland, November 10 to 12, 1889. This plank said in part: "We not only recommend Catholics to subscribe more generally for Catholic periodicals; but we also look with eagerness for the establishment of a daily Catholic newspaper in our large cities, and a Catholic associated press agency.

Representatives of twenty-six Catholic publications met following the Congress, and determined that the editors and business managers of Catholic publications should meet at Cincinnati on the first Wednesday in May, 1890, "to discuss such measures as might be beneficial to the Catholic Press of the country." Dr. Hart continues:

The first convention of editors and business managers of Catholic publications of the United States assembled at the Dennison Hotel, Cincinnati, May 7, 1890, at 10 a.m., with Father T. W. Graham, of the *Catholic Tribune*, of St. Joseph, Missouri, as chairman; Condé B. Pallen, editor of *Church Progress*, St. Louis, Missouri, secretary; and the following thirteen papers represented:

Catholic Mirror, Baltimore, by W. J. O'Brien; *Kansas Catholic*, Kansas City, Kas., John O'Flanagan; *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Pittsburgh, Paul C. Dunlevy; *Catholic Journal*, Rochester, Willard H. Marakle; *Catholic Church News*, Washington, D. C., Milton E. Smith and William H. Wepley; *Catholic Youth*, Brooklyn, James Delaney; *Courier*, Ogdensburg, N. Y., Father J. H. Conroy; *Poor Souls Advocate*, Evansville, Ind., Father J. Lueberman; *Church Progress*, St. Louis, Father J. H. Kuhlman, S.J., and Condé B. Pallen; *Catholic Home*, Chicago, P. S. O'Ryan; *American Catholic Tribune*, Cincinnati, Daniel Rudd; *Catholic Telegraph*, Cincinnati, Joseph Schoenenberger and Miss Mary M. Meline.

For the World Catholic Press Exhibition which was held in the Cortile della Pigna, Vatican City, from April to October, 1936, by direction of the Pope, Charles H. Ridder of the *Catholic News*, as Secretary representing the Catholic Press Association, directed the placing there of a most elaborate and instructive exhibit showing the present condition, and the previous development since 1809, of the Catholic press in the United States. According to the comprehensive statistics given by Mr. Ridder with this exhibit, there are now (1937) in the United States 4,631 Catholic publications of all kinds, with a total circulation

of 8,990,657. These publications can be divided into 134 newspapers, circulation 2,396,516; 197 magazines, circulation 250,000. The newspapers total 9 dailies; 1 tri-weekly; 3 semi-weeklies and 131 weeklies. The 3,300 other units of the combined table are local and parish bulletins with a circulation of 1,740,000. The United States exhibit at the Vatican was voted its most elaborate and interesting feature and it received generous and general commendations.

Count Giuseppe della Torre, Director of the *Osservatore Romano* and President of the Executive Committee of the Vatican World Catholic Press exhibition, issued a statement appraising its results at its close. "The examples of a very perfect organization," he said, "have shown with what a high sense of decorum our journalism corresponds to the idea that inspires it and at the same time contributes to the prestige of the press, technically and professionally, as the most powerful instrument of culture and civilization." In the seventy-two halls of the exhibit, 11,794 publications were displayed, besides graphs, statistics, reports and illustrations. They represented the work of the Catholic Press in forty-five States of Europe and America, fifty-three districts of Asia, Africa, Oceania and Oriental Europe. They represented the work of thirty-three Religious Orders as well as the international centers of Catholic Action. There were 82,738 visitors, representing all classes of people.

It is notable that of the many papers started in the first half of the nineteenth century only two now (1937) survive: the Boston *Pilot* founded by Patrick Donahoe in 1836, and the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, *Catholic*, begun in March, 1844, by Bishop M. O'Connor. Boston had a Catholic paper before Donahoe's *Pilot*, the *Jesuit*, started September 5, 1829 under the auspices of Bishop Fenwick by a group of laymen called the Roman Catholic Auxiliary Society. It did excellent service until 1834 when, because of bad management and factional rows in the Auxiliary Society it became in the written opinion of Bishop Fenwick "an apple of discord and disunion among brethren of the same family." He withdrew his approbation and the paper ceased to exist. Boston was then without a recognized Catholic paper until Donahoe's *Pilot* appeared in 1836. Even then, as the lists of the papers

having episcopal sanction printed yearly in the *Catholic Directory* seem to indicate, it was several years before the *Pilot* without this *imprimatur* was included in the Catholic group. Patrick Donahoe's heirs sold the *Pilot* to the Archdiocese of Boston in June, 1908. The first really Catholic weekly printed in the United States was Bishop England's *Catholic Miscellany* at Charleston, S. C., 1822; the first diocesan weekly Bishop Fenwick's *Catholic Telegraph*, Cincinnati, 1833, and the first weekly owned and published by laymen the *Truth Teller*, New York, 1825.

This year the German Catholic press of the United States celebrated its centennial, as the first Catholic weekly in the German language, *Der Wahrheitsfreund* (The Friend of Truth), began its publication at Cincinnati July 20, 1837.

The Rev. George Timpe, P.S.M., of Washington, D. C., in an article written for the German press service of the Central Bureau of the Central Verein, gives an interesting account of the circumstances which led to the establishment of this newspaper which lasted nearly three quarters of the century. The details of what follows here must be credited to this article as it appeared in the St. Paul, Minnesota, *Wanderer* of July 29, 1937:

It was Father John Martin Henni that instigated the starting of this weekly to help to support an asylum for the many German Catholic orphans he found appearing for his pastoral care. To obtain means to provide a steady income for the maintenance of the children, it was decided to establish *Der Wahrheitsfreund*. Father Henni himself was imbued with the thought that he could contribute to the cultural advancement of the German Catholics by publishing this newspaper.

On April 20, 1837, the project was discussed in the Cincinnati *Telegraph* and earnestly recommended to all German Catholics. The *Telegraph* had to cope with tremendous difficulties and for a time it was feared that it would be impossible to continue the paper. At the beginning of its sixth year, it had less than seven hundred subscribers.

Under the circumstances, it required splendid courage in the German Catholics who ventured to establish another paper in the same city. How critical the situation was for the *Telegraph* is revealed in the August 17, 1837, issue of the paper. It is

stated that the number of subscriptions had increased to only 850. "In the foregoing three months the receipts totaled only \$132.25. . . . On this basis the annual income amounts to only \$529 instead of \$2,000. . . . Nearly two-thirds of our subscribers have failed to pay their subscriptions. . . . The receipts barely covered the cost of the paper. . . . Our readers must realize that this cannot continue." The difficulties were eventually overcome.

Father Henni must have been an idealist to start another paper under such circumstances. Yet he launched his project, an eight-page paper, on July 20, 1837. He was dependent almost entirely on his own pen with some material obtained from the English Catholic papers, and from European newspapers which reached him belatedly. In the course of the years, he established agents in various parts of the East and Middle West and after a time secured the collaboration of other German priests. The golden jubilee edition, issued on August 3, 1887, preserved the names of the five hundred and sixty original subscribers. The majority of these were in Cincinnati itself and in Ohio, but there were others in Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Reading, and St. Louis. The list includes the names of such well known pioneer priests as Fathers Balleis, Dahman, Ferneding, Prince Gallitzin, Junker, Masquelet, Neumann, Pax, Steinbacher, Tschenhens.

Father Henni in 1844 became the first Bishop of Milwaukee. In 1875 he was elevated to the Archbishopic. He died on Sept. 7, 1881, after having governed the See for thirty-seven years.

The *Wahrheitsfreund* was the forerunner of a chain of German Catholic newspapers which extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At one time these numbered thirty, including two Catholic dailies, the *Volksfreund* of Buffalo and the *Amerika* of St. Louis. The *Wahrheitsfreund* for several years also was published as a daily. At present there are not more than ten German Catholic newspapers. One of the oldest is *Der Wanderer*, of St. Paul, Minnesota, founded in 1867.

The suspension of the *Wahrheitsfreund*, in 1910, was followed on October 30, 1931, by that of the St. Louis *Amerika*, founded in 1872; the *Katholischer Glaubensbote* of Louisville, Kentucky, on November 22, 1923, after fifty-nine years existence, and the *Pastoral-Blatt* of St. Louis, December 1925.

For the use of research students the United States Catholic Historical Society has made a collection of fifty anti-Catholic books and pamphlets of the "Maria Monk" variety and has placed them in the Society's library at Dunwoodie Seminary where they may be consulted. The collection includes the following:

American's Text Book, The, by An American. Nashville, Tenn.

Awful Disclosures, by Maria Monk of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal. Revised. Maria Monk Publisher.

Catholic Judge, The, or a Moderator of the Catholique Moderator. Pamphlet 1623 London.

Cloven Foot, The, or Popery Aiming at Political Supremacy in the United States. Rector of Oldenwood. Boston. A Wentworth & Co.

The Dangers and Designs of Romanism in the United States. Dr. Henry W. Maynard.

An Exposition of the Principles of the Roman Catholic Religion with remarks on its influence in the United States. Philateles Hartford.

Father Clement. Anonymous. E. Bliss and E. White, Publishers.

Father Garazzi's Lecture in New York, also the Life of Father Garazzi. Dewitt and Davenport, New York.

The Female Jesuit. H. Dayton. New York.

Helen Mulgrave or Jesuit Executorship. Autobiography. Dewitt and Davenport.

The History of the Inquisition. Compiled by various authors with an introduction by Rev. Cyrus Mason. Henry Perkins.

History of the Priestcraft in all Ages and Nations. By William Howitt.

History of Romanism. By Rev. John Dowling, A.P. Edward Walker, New York.

Jesuit Executorship. Two Volumes in one. Autobiography. John W. Parker and Son. London.

Lectures on Romanism. Cumming. Jewitt and Co.

A Master Key to Popery. Anthony Gavin, Priest of Saragossa. A. F. Robinson. Cincinnati.

The Monk of Gethsemane Abbey, Walsh. Reformed Catholic Book and Tract Concern.

My Last Will and Testament. Hyacinthe Layson. Cassell and Co. London.

- The Mysteries of a Neapolitan Convent.* Henrietta Carocciolo. A. S. Hale and Co. Hartford.
- The Papal Conspiracy Exposed.* Dr. Edward Beecher, D.D. Stearns and Co. Boston.
- Popery As It Was and As It Is, and Auricular Confession and Popish Nunneries.* William Hogan.
- Pope or President. Startling Disclosures of Romanism Revealed By Its Own Writers.* R. L. Dellisser, New York.
- The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional.* Fr. Chiniquy.
- Romanism As It Is.* Rev. Samuel Barnum. Conn. Publishing Co., Hartford, Conn.
- Romanism at Home.* Letters to the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States, by Kirwan. Harper Bros. New York. Sixth edition.
- Rome in America.* Justin D. Fulton, D.D. Howard Gannel. Boston.
- The Rule of the Monk or Rome in the 19th Century.* General Garibaldi. Harper Bros. New York.
- The Schoolgirl in France.* Miss R. McGrindell. Robert Carter & Bros. New York.
- The Siege of Derry or Sufferings of the Protestants.* John S. Taylor and Co. New York.
- A Sequel to the Female Jesuit.* Mrs. S. Luke. N. W. Dodd. New York.
- Six Months in a Convent or the Narrative of Rebecca Theresa Reed.* Russell, Odiorre and Metcalfe. Boston.
- Six Years in the Monasteries of Italy and Two Years in the Islands of the Mediterranean and in Asia Minor.* Rev. S. I. Mahoney. Edward C. Biddle. Philadelphia.
- Six Years a Priest, a Decade a Protestant.* Prof. F. W. Woods, A.M., Ph.D.
- Supplement to Six Days in a Convent.*
- The Sons of Sire or a History of the Rise, Progress and Destiny of the American Party.* By an American. Lippincott Grambo and Co. Philadelphia.
- Spiritual Struggles of a Roman Catholic.* Louis N. Beadury. Nelson and Phillips. New York.
- Trials and Persecutions of Miss Edith O'Gorman Formerly Sister Theresa de Chantal of St. Joseph's Convent,* Hudson, New Jersey. Miss Edith O'Gorman. Connecticut Publishing Co. Hartford.
- The Testimony of an Escaped Novice.* Josephine M. Bunkley. Harper Brothers. New York.

The Variations of Popery. Rev. Samuel Edgar, D.D., of Ireland. R. Craighead. New York.

The Veil Uplifted or the Romance and Reality of Convent Life. Published by Henry Hoyt. Boston.

Why Priests Should Wed. Justin D. Fulton, D.D., Rand Avery Co. Boston.

PAMPHLETS

Addresses of Rev. L. Bacon, D.D., and Rev. E. N. Kirk to the Christian Alliance. S. W. Benedict. New York.

The Cardinal's Beretta. Sermon by O. B. Frothingham in the Masonic Temple. Published by G. P. Putnam & Sons.

Letters to Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York. Rev. James A. O'Connor. The Converted Catholic. New York.

Letters to Rev. John Hughes, D.D., Papal Archbishop of New York in Review of his sermon preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral, June 28, 1851. L. Willard. Troy. American Organ Office, Washington, D. C.

The Nun of St. Ursula or The Burning of the Convent. Harry Hazel. F. Gleason. Boston.

The Pope, The Jesuits and the People. Mrs. M. L. Shepherd. Providence, Rhode Island.

Reply of Hon. Kenneth Rayner to the Manifesto of Hon. Henry A. Wise.

A Short Review of Dr. Edward Beecher's Work The Conflict of the Ages. Rev. T. S. King. Abel Tompkins. Boston.

CATHOLIC PAMPHLET REPLY

An Answer to Six Months in a Convent. By the Lady Superior. J. H. Eastburn. Boston.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

When the Most Rev. Duane G. Hunt was consecrated Bishop of Salt Lake, Utah, on October 28, 1937, he made the twelfth convert to the Church to receive episcopal dignity in the United States. Four of these converts became Archbishops. The editor of the National Catholic Welfare Council News Service for this event compiled this list of these distinguished ecclesiastics:

The first convert to be raised to the Hierarchy in the United States was the Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston, fifth Archbishop of Baltimore. He was received into the Church May 29, 1809, consecrated Coadjutor Archbishop of Baltimore on September 14, 1834, and became Archbishop on October 18 of the same year. He died April 22, 1851. Not only was Archbishop Eccleston the first convert appointed to episcopal dignity, but he was also the first of the convert Bishops in point of conversion. He was a Protestant Episcopalian before becoming a Catholic.

The Most Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, a former Episcopal minister in New York who became the eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, was received into the Church at Rome, April 28, 1842. He was consecrated Bishop of Newark on October 30, 1853, and elevated to the Archdiocese of Baltimore on July 30, 1872. Archbishop Bayley died October 3, 1877.

The first Archbishop of Philadelphia, the Most Rev. James Frederic Wood, was the fifth convert elevated to the episcopacy. He had been baptized a Unitarian and embraced the Catholic Faith at Cincinnati on April 7, 1836. He was consecrated Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia on April 26, 1857; became Bishop of Philadelphia on January 5, 1860, and was created Archbishop of Philadelphia on February 12, 1875. Archbishop Wood died June 20, 1883.

The last convert to be raised to the episcopacy before Bishop Hunt was the Most Rev. James Hubert Blenk, S.M., who was Archbishop of New Orleans between 1906 and 1917. Archbishop Blenk entered the Church at New Orleans in 1868, and was consecrated Bishop of Puerto Rico on June 12, 1899. He died April 20, 1917.

The second convert named to a bishopric was also second in point of conversion. He was the Right Rev. William Tyler, a former Protestant Episcopalian minister, who became the first Bishop of Hartford, Connecticut, on March 17, 1844. Bishop Tyler, who was born at Derby, Vermont, June 5, 1806, embraced Catholicism when he was sixteen years old. His parents and their seven children renounced Protestantism for the Church. The Bishop died June 18, 1849.

The Right Rev. Josue M. Young, second Bishop of Erie, Pennsylvania, was the fourth convert elevated to the Hierarchy in this country. This former Congregationalist, who was baptized a Catholic in October, 1828, at Portland, Maine, was consecrated Bishop of Erie on April 23, 1854. He died September 18, 1866.

The Right Rev. Sylvester Horton Rosecrans, first Bishop of Columbus, was a convert from the Episcopalian church. His brother, General William Starke Rosecrans, famed Civil War commander, also was a convert. Bishop Rosecrans was received into the Church in 1845. He was consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of Cincinnati March 25, 1862, and was made Bishop of Columbus March 3, 1868. His death occurred October 21, 1878.

The Right Rev. Thomas Andrew Becker, sixth Bishop of Savannah, was born at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 20, 1832, of German Protestant parents. He embraced Catholicism in early manhood. He was consecrated Bishop of Wilmington August 16, 1868, and was transferred to the Diocese of Savannah in 1886. The Bishop died July 29, 1899.

The Right Rev. Richard Gilmour, second Bishop of Cleveland, was a Presbyterian before his reception into the Church at Philadelphia on August 15, 1842. He was consecrated Bishop of Cleveland April 14, 1872. Bishop Gilmour's death occurred April 13, 1891.

That same year saw another convert elevated to the Hierarchy. It was the Right Rev. Edgar P. Wadhams, who was consecrated the first Bishop of Ogdensburg on May 5, 1872. He was a convert from the Episcopalian church, in which he had been a deacon. He died December 5, 1891.

The Right Rev. Alfred A. Curtis, who became Bishop of Wilmington in November, 1886, was received into the Church in

England by Cardinal Newman on April 18, 1872. He had been an Episcopalian minister. As such, one of his charges was at Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland, which was within the territory he later governed as Bishop of Wilmington. As he was the immediate successor of Bishop Thomas A. Becker, the Diocese of Wilmington had two convert Ordinaries in succession. Bishop Curtis died July 11, 1908.

Bishop Duane Garrison Hunt was preparing for a legal career when he embraced Catholicism and then went on to study for the priesthood. The Bishop, who had been reared a Methodist, was born in Reynolds, Nebraska, September 19, 1884; received the Bachelor's degree from Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, in 1907; later attended the University of Iowa, and still later the University of Chicago. It was during his senior year in college that Bishop Hunt began to examine the teachings of the Catholic Church. He was baptized in the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Chicago, January 17, 1913.

Interrupting his legal studies, he was invited to the University of Utah as an instructor in the Speech Department. He had attained brilliant success in this post when, at the instance of the Most Rev. Joseph S. Glass, C.M., second Bishop of Salt Lake, he entered St. Patrick Seminary, Menlo Park, California. He was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Glass in the Cathedral, Salt Lake City, June 27, 1920. The Bishop was Rector of the Cathedral from 1923 to 1930, he was named Vicar General of the Diocese in 1928.

Six of the convert Bishops were Protestant Episcopalians before being received into the Church, and of these, four had been ministers. Two of the convert Bishops were Lutherans, one was a Presbyterian, one a Unitarian, one a Congregationalist, and one a Methodist.

OUR COLORED CATHOLICS

The first native American to be appointed a Bishop in the Western Hemisphere was Francis Xavier de Luna Victoria y Castro, Bishop of Panama (1751); of Truxillo, Peru (1758) and 1776 Archbishop of Chuquisaca. Dr. Arthur A. Schomburg of the staff of the New York Public Library, a distinguished historian, while on a visit to Seville, Spain, met Dr. Juan Antonio Susto, director of the National Archives of Panama, and with him did much research there among the government archives of Panama and Peru. He contributed to the *Interracial Review*, for August 1937, a most interesting paper on what they found among these official documents about Archbishop Victoria. He says:

Victoria was born in 1695 at Panama. His reputed father was Capt. Manuel de Lima y Victoria and his mother, Rosa Gordillo Lima y Castro, both residents of the city of Nata de los Caballeros. All we know of his early life is that his mother was a Negro woman who sold charcoal for a livelihood in the city of his birth, but who, notwithstanding her circumstances, was determined to give her son the best education that the Jesuits could confer on a youth of Panama.

He made a distinguished career in the seminary and as one of the Cathedral staff, and was appointed Bishop of Panama, taking possession of the See August 15, 1751. In 1758 he was translated to the See of Truxillo in Peru, and shortly before his death at the age of eighty-two, on March 11, 1777, he was further honored by elevation to the Archbishopric of Chuquisaca. Concluding his sketch, Dr. Schomburg records:

The lifework of Victoria was constructive in the extreme. Especially significant it is, that he, who enjoyed the distinction of being the first American-born Bishop, and who was later elevated to the American Archiepiscopate, who, finally, had the great honor of being the founder of a noted University, was a Negro.

It was a happy day for me when I held in my hands the

indisputable evidence of these attainments of a man of African descent, the founder by Royal warrant of the University of Saint Francis Xavier at Panama, one of the few which flourished in those early days of colonization. Here was a devout man, who against, and in spite of, all opposition, rose, through piety and steadfast faith, to one of the highest positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

A fine portrait of the Archbishop, a copy of a painting in the Iglesia Cathedral, of Truxillo, where he is buried, accompanies this article in the *Interracial Review*.

The race was represented in the ranks of the hierarchy of the United States by James Augustine Healy, Second Bishop of Portland, Maine. Born at Macon, Georgia, April 6, 1830, his mother was a mulatto. The family moved to Boston and he and his two brothers were sent to Holy Cross College in 1844. After graduating with honors in 1849, he spent five years in the Sulpician seminaries at Montreal and Paris, and was ordained priest at Paris, June 10, 1854. Returning to Boston he served as secretary to Bishop Fitzpatrick as Chancellor of the diocese and as pastor, until February 12, 1875, when he was appointed Bishop of Portland. His administration was most successful in every respect. He died August 5, 1900, "respected and beloved by priests and people, as a scholar, a master of oratory and a man of sanctity" (Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article "Portland"). His mother presided with gracious dignity over the domestic affairs of his household at Portland.

His brother, Patrick F. Healy, twenty-eighth president of Georgetown University, a man of extraordinary ability, was born at Macon, February 27, 1834, and was graduated at Holy Cross, in 1850. He entered the Society of Jesus September 17, 1850, and after a novitiate at Frederick, Maryland, made his studies abroad returning from Belgium to Georgetown in 1866. He filled various important positions on the staff until May 23, 1873, when he succeeded Father John Early as president of the University. During his term of office, which lasted until ill health compelled him to resign February 16, 1882, the progress of the institution was notable both in its scholastic and material improvements. The new modern buildings were erected under his management. After

his resignation he spent some time recuperating with his brother, the Bishop at Portland, and was then stationed in New York and finally went back to Georgetown where he died January 10, 1910. The third brother had a successful career as an officer in the United States Revenue cutter service. (Cf., *Woodstock Letters*, 1910; Shea, John Gilmary, *History Georgetown College*, Washington, 1891).

When the First General Congress of the Catholic laity of the United States was held in Baltimore, Maryland, November 11 and 12, 1889, in connection with the Centennial celebration of the establishment of the Hierarchy of the United States, the call for it was sent out from Chicago on July 31, 1889, signed by William J. Onahan of Chicago, Henry J. Spaunhorst of St. Louis and Daniel A. Rudd of Cincinnati. Rudd was a Negro, and generally respected for his zealous and efficient services in all the Catholic activities of that time. He and his brother John published for several years a weekly paper for Colored Catholics called the *American Catholic Tribune*, the first of such publications in the United States specially devoted to the interests of Colored Catholics. As its editor Daniel Rudd attended the first meeting of the National Catholic Press Association which was held during the sessions of the Baltimore Congress.

It is notable that in the proceedings of this Baltimore Congress, although twenty stated topics were treated at length by distinguished speakers, there was nothing said in them about Colored Catholics or their needs, and only this brief casual mention was slipped in among the twenty formal resolutions adopted by the Congress: "The emelioration and promotion of the physical and moral culture of the Negro race is a subject of the utmost concern, and we pledge ourselves to assist our clergy in all ways tending to effect any improvement in their condition." While this Congress did nothing definite in this direction it influenced the calling of a Congress of Colored Catholics which was held at Washington, D. C., on January 1-3, 1889, and attended by forty delegates representing the States of Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York,

Louisiana, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota the District of Columbia and one from South America. Daniel A. Rudd was elected president and letters approving the meeting were received from twenty-five members of the Hierarchy. Cardinal Gibbons presided at the Mass opening the proceedings, and, in his sermon, congratulated the delegates on being members of such an assembly now held for the first time and from which many good results must surely follow.

It was resolved to form a committee of one delegate for every 500 members or fraction "for the purpose of taking the status of the race in their relations to the Church and, if found advisable, to submit a basis of permanent organization as an auxiliary to cooperate with the venerable clergy in the conversion and education of our race in the United States." Nothing came of this project, but a Second Congress was held at Cincinnati, July 8-11, 1890, with about the same number of delegates. Archbishop Elder presided and preached at the Mass. An address from the Colored Catholics of the United States to their fellow citizens was adopted, in which, while rejoicing in the progress made in education and importance during the quarter century just passed, regret was expressed at high rents and the consequent squalid living quarters; at discriminations in trade union organizations, and urging the opening of primary and industrial schools in which trade unions should assist to help an uplift to self support. A Third Congress, with delegates from fourteen States and much the same proceedings met in Philadelphia, Archbishop Ryan lending his presence and approval, January 5-7, 1892. This ended the efforts in the movement for national organization.

The Rudds had to give up the publication of their paper and Daniel moved to Kentucky where the family took care of the old Bardstown Cathedral from which he was buried after his long and useful life in which his active years were spent in laboring for the improvement of his race. John Rudd died at Piqua, Ohio, September 13, 1934. (Cf., Official report First Catholic Congress, Detroit, 1889; *Three Afro-Catholic Congresses*, Cincinnati, 1893.

According to the *Interracial Review* the following statistics (1937) have been compiled from the best available sources:

Number of Negroes in United States	13,000,000
Estimated number of Protestant Negroes	5,000,000
Estimated number of Catholic Negroes	250,000
Estimated number unchurched	7,750,000
Number of Negroes attending colleges	23,038
Number of Catholic Negro churches	221
Number of Catholic Negro schools	263
Negro enrollment in Catholic schools	35,026
Priests engaged in Colored Missions	300
Sisters engaged in Colored Missions	1,100
Negroes in New York City	327,726
Negroes in Chicago	233,000
Negroes in Philadelphia	219,000
Negroes in Washington	132,068

There are three Institutes of Colored Sisters: (1) The Oblate Sisters of Providence founded at Baltimore. 1829, which has a membership of 211 and teaches in 1 normal school, 3 academies, 4 high schools and 10 grammar schools. (2) The Sisters of the Holy Family founded in New Orleans, 1842 and now numbering 202 located in five dioceses of the United States and in British Honduras. They have charge of 1 academy, 5 high schools, 1 junior high school, 21 elementary schools, 2 orphan asylums and 1 home for aged. (3) The Handmaids of the Most Pure Heart of Mary, founded in Savannah, Georgia, in 1916 and later moved to New York. There are 23 Sisters and 5 novices and postulates caring for 2 grammar schools and a settlement house.

St. Augustine Seminary, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, in charge of the Society of the Divine Word is the only Catholic Seminary for Colored students in the United States. It has 43 students in the high school and college, and 13 in the major seminary representing 13 States. The teaching staff has 14 professors, 2 Colored lay professors, 6 novices and 4 postulates.

The first native New York Colored priest, the Rev. Marcus Glover, P.B., celebrated his first High Mass in the Church of

St. Francis de Sales, New York, July 11, 1937. He was born in the parish in 1916, attended the parish school Cathedral College and was ordained at the Seminary of the White Fathers, of which he is a member, at Cathage, Africa, on June 29, 1937. He is a missionary along the Gold Coast, Africa.

In the Cathedral, Charleston, South Carolina, Bishop Walsh delivering the address and awarding the diplomas, twelve students of the Immaculate Conception High School of St. Peter's parish for Colored Catholics, were graduated in June, 1937, the first time such a ceremony is recorded as taking place in the South. The Oblate Sisters of Providence teach in this High School which is recognized by the State.

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